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CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYER FOUNDATION
VOL. XVII

CROW INDIAN MEDICINE BUNDLES

BY
WILLIAM WILDSCHUT

Edited by
JOHN C. EWERS

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYER FOUNDATION
1960

CHIEF ROTTEN BELLY'S SHIELD
THE MOST FAMOUS CROW INDIAN WAR MEDICINE
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Resource Center

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Smithsonian Institution

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FOREWORD

The late Robert H. Lowie, foremost student of the Crow Indians, has defined Crow medicine bundles simply as "wrapped-up aggregations of sacred objects." To the average white man, the miscellaneous assortment of strange-appearing objects contained in many of these bundles is meaningless. But to the student of American Indian culture these same materials are rich in symbolism. They are the objective expressions of the traditional religious beliefs and practices of a vigorous and deeply religious people.

Scattered references to the sacred bundles of the Crow Indians have appeared in the writings of white men for more than 150 years. In fact, François Larocque, who traveled with the Crows during the summer of 1805, mentioned their medicine bundles in his *Journal*, the earliest known account of the life of these Indians. However, the systematic study of the role of medicine bundles in Crow Indian religion was not initiated until the first decade of the present century. In the year 1907, Dr. Robert H. Lowie of the American Museum of Natural History commenced intensive field studies among the Crow Indians during which he directed his attention primarily to the social and religious aspects of their culture. These studies culminated in the publication of a series of excellent technical papers on various aspects of traditional Crow life. Three of them dealt with medicine bundles. *The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians* (Lowie, 1915), described the sun dance bundle. *The Religion of the Crow Indians* (Lowie, 1922), described a number of different types of medicine bundles. And *Minor Ceremonies of the Crow Indians* (Lowie, 1924), included an account of the medicine pipe ceremony. Nevertheless, Lowie collected very few of the Crow medicine bundles he described in his writings.

In the year 1918, William Wildschut, a business man of Billings, Montana, near the Crow Reservation, began to take a serious interest in collecting ethnological materials among the these Indians. As had Lowie before him, Wildschut became especially interested in Crow religious life. Probably Lowie's publications furnished valuable leads in his collecting, for we know that Wildschut read Lowie's works and that he purchased for the col-

lections of this museum some of the most important medicine bundles described by Lowie.

From the owners of the bundles he collected, as well as from other Indians who possessed knowledge of them, Wildschut obtained information about the origin, history and uses of these sacred objects. Among his informants he numbered two of the most highly respected Crow chiefs, Plenty Coups and Two Leggings. Jasper Long of St. Xavier, on the Crow Reservation, served as Wildschut's interpreter during the nine years he spent in field research.

Wildschut was very patient in his work with the older Indians. His correspondence with the late George G. Heye, during the period of his Crow fieldwork, repeatedly mentioned his satisfaction at being able to purchase a particular bundle for this museum's collection after two or even three years of negotiation with its Indian owner. Even so, there were Indians who were unwilling to part with their sacred bundles for the reason that they were still very important to them in their religious life.

By 1927 William Wildschut had collected more than 260 Crow Indian medicine bundles. This is by far the largest and most representative series of such bundles preserved in any depository. It probably is the largest single collection of medicine bundles from any Plains Indian tribe.

Over the years Wildschut learned of and collected examples of types of medicine bundles which were not reported in Lowie's writings on the Crow Indians. Among them were the dramatic skull bundles which were not mentioned in the writings of any other student of Crow Indian culture. He also collected from Indian informants, not alone a large body of information regarding medicine bundles in general, but, more importantly, data on the origin, history and uses of particular bundles. A small portion of this information appeared in six short, illustrated articles written by Wildschut and published in this museum's *Indian Notes* series during the years 1925 and 1926. (See the bibliography at the end of this monograph). In 1927 William Wildschut wrote for this museum a lengthy manuscript on the Crow Indians the greater part of which dealt with the subject of medicine bundles.

William Wildschut passed away in 1955. Two years later I asked John C. Ewers, formerly Associate Curator of Ethnology at the U. S. National Museum, who had engaged in extensive field work among the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri region, to

read Mr. Wildschut's Crow manuscript with the view of determining the desirability of editing significant portions of it for publication by this museum. We agreed that Wildschut's material on medicine bundles represented a distinct contribution which should be published along with photographs of bundles in the museum's collections, which Wildschut collected and which he described or referred to in his manuscript.

In preparation for editing the Wildschut manuscript Mr. Ewers examined the collection of Crow medicine bundles in this museum and re-examined the literature on the Crow Indians and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri. In editing the manuscript for publication Mr. Ewers has reorganized and condensed portions of it. He also has provided detailed descriptions of the contents of some important bundles mentioned in Wildschut's correspondence but not fully described in his manuscript. Where these interpolations occur, they are set between brackets, and are further identified by the Editor's initials, JCE. The footnotes are, obviously, Mr. Ewers', and he has written a concluding chapter tracing the history of Crow medicine bundles and the relationships of the Crow bundles to those of other tribes of the Upper Missouri as revealed by studies of the literature.

Finally, the museum is deeply indebted to Dr. T. Dale Stewart, Curator of Physical Anthropology at the U. S. National Museum, for his careful examination and report upon the two skulls in the skull medicine bundles, and the Rotten Belly jaw medicine.

E. K. BURNETT

September 1960

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that bundles composed of sacred objects, believed to have possessed magical powers, were in use among the many tribes which inhabited the western Great Plains. Not only did the Crow Indians own a great many of these bundles, but it would seem that their bundles were more varied and served a greater variety of purposes than those of any neighboring group.

These medicine bundles were such an integral part of Crow Indian religious life that it would be impossible to discuss them without first considering the basic concepts of traditional Crow Indian religion.

CONCEPTS OF THE DIETY AND OF SUPERNATURAL POWERS

All informants agree that the Crow Indians believe in one supreme being who was the creator of everything. Under the influence of Christian missionaries, who wished to give the Crows a word which would bring to the Indian mind the white man's concept of God, the supreme being has become known by the name of *Akbatekdia*, "He Who Does Everything." In earlier times the Crow concept of the supreme being was expressed by the term *Bahkoore-Mahishtedah*, which is, literally, "Above Keep His Eyes Yellow", and is more freely translated "The Above Person with the Yellow Eyes", "The Great Above Person," or "The White Man Above." *Mahishtedah*, "His Eyes Yellow," is the Crow name for the white man. Hence the translation "White Man Above."

A still earlier name for the supreme being appears in the Crow creation legend which was related to me by Chief Two Leggings. It is *Eehtreshbohedish*, meaning "Starter of All Things," commonly translated "First Worker."¹

¹ In 1862 Robert Meldrum, a fur trader who had lived among the Crows for 35 years and probably knew these Indians better than any other white man, told Lewis Henry Morgan that the Crows recognized a Great Spirit whose name meant "Who made it." (Morgan, 1959. p. 172). Edward S. Curtis translated the name of the Crow diety "He First Made All Things." Curtis claimed the Crows believed that "He is composed of all the vapory elements that existed before the world was formed by him." (Curtis, Vol. IV. 1909. p. 52).

It was First Worker who gave to all things, organic and inorganic, a purpose and a power. Thus the Indian, who is visited in his dream or vision by a personified animal, plant, rock or spirit, accepts this visitant as his sacred helper in life, but he never forgets that it was First Worker who originally imparted to his sacred helper the power attributed to it. This power, known among the Crows as *Maxpé*, and commonly translated "medicine," was given in greater or lesser degree to all things. According to Crow belief it could be bestowed by a supernatural helper upon an individual Indian for the purpose of assisting him throughout his earthly life.

Only in their most important ceremonies and in their quests for visions did the Crow Indians offer their prayers directly to First Worker. Generally they prayed to the supernatural beings seen in their visions and represented in their individual medicine bundles.

The Crow Indians also believe that beyond the tangible world there is a supernatural one in which the beings are divided into two clans. One is called the "Without Fires." To this clan belong the sun, moon, stars, and thunder; all the animals that live in the water and on the earth, and the little whirl-winds that one frequently sees dancing over the prairies, but not the wind. This clan also includes the souls of the dead and dwarfs (although the latter are thought to live like human beings and to use fire for cooking). The chief of the "Without Fires" is Old Man Coyote.

The other clan is composed of the supernatural earth and everything that springs from it—all of the plants, flowers, trees and rocks. The Earth clan has four chief spirits, wind, fire, water and the earth itself. The earth is regarded as our mother. From it is born our body and to it the body returns after death. Wind is our breath (corresponding to the soul) and after death it returns to the "Other Side Camp." Our words are our breath. They too are considered sacred.

The "Without Fires" clan is itself divided into two clans, although the members of these clans are not specifically stated and may vary from time to time. These clans are very fond of gambling and their stakes are those human beings whom they have adopted and who are called their children. When one of these supernatural beings loses, the life of his adopted child is forfeited, and the child is "eaten" by the winning clan. Although the Crows use the expression "eaten" in explaining their concept of the absorption of the soul of the dead by the winning clan, no idea of cannibalism is

involved. Cannibalism was obnoxious to the Crows. They did not eat pieces of the liver or the heart of their enemies, and they believed that anyone who attempted to do so would be punished by having his mouth twisted.

The Crows believe that death on the battlefield is most honorable. The soul of one who so dies is dressed with all the honors of a warrior and becomes one with the supernatural being who won him, to live a most honored life in the "Other Side Camp." The clans of the "Without Fires" have a servant, a spirit in human form with pine trees growing from the lower lids of his eyes, who arranges war parties, brings the enemies together, and leads the souls of the dead to the winning clan where they are "eaten," absorbed or adopted by this clan. He is the nearest approach to the concept of an evil spirit known to the Crows. If no one is killed in a battle he returns to his supernatural home, disappointed and tired. The Crows call him *Istseremurexposhe*.

Old age is the next honorable death. Although it ranks lower than death on the battlefield, it generally is preferred. Survival to old age proved to the Crow that his supernatural protector was powerful, a good gambler, and fond of his child. When death finally overtakes the aged Crow he goes to the "Other Side Camp" where he lives in peace and happiness, as one with his supernatural helper.

Early death, not on the field of battle, was attributed to one of two causes. Either the supernatural father was not a powerful one and gambled away the life of his adopted child, or the Indian offended his guardian by failure to observe the taboos associated with his medicine or in some other way, causing the father to send his servant to take the life of his child. Although the souls of those who died early passed to the "Other Side Camp," they were of lower rank there.

Lowest on the list of the dead were the suicides and the murderers. Their souls could not enter the "Other Side Camp," but roamed the earth as ghosts. Besides these ghosts of the dead, *Aparaaxe*, the Crows recognize the *Maxuerete*, spirits who never entered a living body. The Crow conception of them is vague. A third class of ghosts are the *Ashuesherete*, the ones "who have no hair on their heads," generally identified with the porcupines. Although ghosts are feared by the Crows, they are recognized as being capable of becoming a person's medicine.

The Crows do not recognize a malevolent spirit and have no

belief equivalent to the white man's concept of Satan. Good and evil are mixed in every being, real or supernatural.

Old Man Coyote and the wind are the commanders of sickness, *Baesane*, and they are generally recognized as its cause. The spirits of the dead also can cause sickness, particularly if one of them has a grievance against a living person. These spirits are thought to place some object, most frequently a cactus needle, in the body of the person, causing sickness. The Indian doctor attempts to extract this object from his patient. Still a fourth cause of sickness is witchcraft, practiced by Indian doctors who employ their powers to cause people to become ill, and then collect fees for effecting cures. Neither sickness nor death is attributed to natural causes.

ORIGINS OF MEDICINE BUNDLES

Dreams. The medicine bundles of the Crows originated almost without exception in dreams or visions. The Crows distinguish four different grades of dreams. Lowest in grade are the ordinary dreams to which no mystic values are attached. They are called *Etahawasheare*, meaning "no account dreams". Cold Wind described one of these dreams:

"I dreamed I was riding on my horse. The Crows and Sioux had a battle. I rode close to the Sioux and was wounded in the breast. I returned to camp and the people came to see me. I heard someone say, 'He is not shot badly and will soon recover.' This made me feel good. Then I awoke."

Next in grade were the *Marehemmasheare*, the wish or sleep dreams. These dreams were thought to possess minor *Maxpé* power. But they mostly refer to visions of the different seasons and to the acquisition of property. Any Indian may have such a dream, although some Indians are more favored with them than are others. These dreams are expressions of hope and prayer, believed to be bestowed by some supernatural power whose identity cannot be established through a dream. It is of interest to note that the Crows realize that these wish-dreams do not always come true.

These wish-dreams often are given to other members of the tribe by the dreamers at the sweat bath ceremony or in return for presents donated on special occasions. The gift may be either absolute or participating. The absolute gift of a dream may be conferred in the following words: "I saw in my dream the trees

coming into leaf. May you live to see this coming season even if I should die before that time." The participating gift may be expressed as follows: "I saw in my dream the trees coming into leaf. May we both live to see this coming season." Of these two wish-dreams, the absolute gift ranks higher than the participating one.

The following is an example of the absolute gift of a dream of this second class:

Comes-From-Above had from time to time received many presents from a woman named High Up. He was a member of her father's clan. Once, during a public celebration, she gave him a span of horses and a buggy. Comes-From-Above arose and publicly made the following announcement: "Once in my dream I was given by the 'Without Fires' a long life. I now transfer this gift to High Up and do not retain it for myself." This happened many years ago and Comes-From-Above died shortly after he made this public statement. The woman, High Up, is still living (1927).

Dreams of property are considered of the same value as wish-dreams. The Crows understand anything loose, scattered on the surface of the earth, to be property, *Baxemane*. All property, whether old or new, is believed to have been owned by some one. Blankets, shawls, war bonnets, dresses, vehicles etc., belong in this category.

The following is an informant's narrative of a property dream:

"I was a poor young fellow and the weather was becoming cold. I suffered from the cold on account of lack of property. To make things worse the people with whom I lived gave some bedding away at a give-away dance, making us still poorer. That night I suffered terribly. But I slept and I had a dream. In this dream I felt myself covered with plenty of blankets and warm things. When I awoke I felt doubly miserable, poor and disappointed.

"Four days later the Piegans came and stole a number of our horses. I joined the Crow party trailing them. I carried my medicine flute. We followed the Piegans for several days. One night my flute medicine told me we were on the wrong trail and showed me the place where the Piegans were camped. I told the members of the war party of my dream and we returned to the place indicated. There we found the enemy. One of our men made a noise when close to the enemy and then the Piegan fled, leaving their horses behind. We recaptured them and returned to our camp. Stolen horses, when recaptured, lose their ownership. But in return for

restoring the horses to their original owners I received all the blankets and warm clothing I needed."

The next highest order of dreams are the medicine dreams, *Bashiammisheek* (literally, "he has a medicine"), the highest grade of which are known as *Baaheamaequa* (literally "something you see"), or visions. A medicine dream, however, can be superior in power to a vision. The superiority of either is often tested in shamanistic contests, as related in Lowie's *The Religion of the Crow Indians* (Lowie, 1922. p. 344). These contests were called "taking each other's arms," meaning, making each other helpless. The difference between the medicine dream and the vision is obvious. The medicine dream is received by the Indian while asleep, while the vision is the appearance of some supernatural being to the Indian while he is wide awake. In both a supernatural being appears to the visionary and gives to the Indian his power.

Cold Wind related the following account of a medicine dream which he experienced:

"I was camped on the banks of the Missouri and was doing scout duty on a high pinnacle. When tired, I was relieved by another scout. I went to sleep and dreamed of a chickenhawk which came flying toward me. When it alighted, it changed into a human being and said to me, 'When I do this they are afraid of me.' As it spoke these words, enemies came around me. The man-hawk gave battle to them and they ran away. After the battle, the man-hawk came back to me and sat down. The enemies disappeared. Whereupon the man-hawk changed into a hawk again and flew away.

"I first thought this was an ordinary, no-account dream. But when I dreamed the same dream sometime later I knew it was a medicine dream. I made a medicine of a chickenhawk and carried it with me while I was doing scout duty for the U. S. Army."

Numerous examples of visions (dreams of the fourth class) are related in the origin legends of the specific medicine bundles appearing in later pages of this study. However, the vision quest pattern is deserving of detailed consideration.

The Vision Quest. The medicine bundles of the Crows most commonly originated in visions that were deliberately sought. Seldom did a boy undertake a vision quest before the age of adolescence. Generally it was not necessary for parents to encourage a boy to seek a vision. The urge to do so emanated from tribal traditions, the tales told by the older medicine men and chiefs to

which all children listened with respectful silence. However, if a young man went on several war parties as an assistant and showed himself to be brave and resourceful, but still obtained no medicine, his father urged the lad to seek a vision, telling him that a medicine acquired by personal effort and fasting was preferable to one transferred from someone else. During manhood, even in middle and old age, fasting was repeatedly undertaken. Females also might seek visions, but only on rare occasions did a woman attempt to do so until she was of marriageable age. Then she was induced to fast by sorrow caused by the death of a very close and dear relative, or by disappointment in love.

When the time came for a young man to join war parties, it was customary for him to secure a sacred helper which would protect him on the dangerous paths he would soon follow. Often the young man who set out to seek a vision lacked the courage to continue his fast long enough to obtain a vision. Or he might obtain a vision which proved unlucky, so that a second fast was necessary. A Crow might fast five, six, seven, or even more times during his lifetime. White-Man-Runs-Him fasted 14 times.

Preparation for a vision quest required purification of both mind and body. The Indian cleansed his body by thoroughly scrubbing it, being careful that no dirt remained even under his fingernails and toenails. He prepared a sweat-bath and prayed to "First Worker" to send him one of his powerful helpers. Then he purified his body again in the smoke of pine needles. From this moment he took no food or water until the completion of his vision quest. He believed that suffering would assist him in arousing the pity of a supernatural being, causing it to give him its medicine and thus to become his sacred helper. Abstinence from food and water also eliminated the odors of them, odors which the Crows believed were objectionable to the "Without Fires".

Following the sweat-bath and purification of his body, the Indian proceeded to the place he had chosen for his fast. Usually this was at some elevated place; most frequently on the summit of a mountain or a high hill. For a covering he carried a newly dressed buffalo robe rubbed with clay, a symbol of cleanliness. For a bed he built a small rocky elevation about two or three feet high and of sufficient width and length to allow his body to lie upon it when reclined at full length. He was careful to orient this rocky mound east and west so that in his recumbent position he could always face east. Then he covered the rocks with branches from pine trees.

If the vision seeker chose as his fasting place a lonely ridge on the prairie, rather than a rocky elevation, he cleared the ground of the scrub and brush and reclined on the bare ground, always facing east.

Many but not all fasters tortured themselves as an aid to securing their visions. The faster cut off a small piece of his flesh, commonly the tip of a finger of the left hand, and held it upward toward the sky, uttering a prayer that this sacrifice might induce a certain spirit to have pity upon him. Some questers cut horse tracks or straight lines on their arms or chests. The horse tracks indicated the faster's desire to obtain many horses on forthcoming expeditions; the straight lines showed his wish to count coups in future encounters with the enemy.

Then, reclining on his prepared couch, the vision-seeker prayed to "First Worker", to the sun, moon, stars, and to all the supernatural beings, asking them to have pity upon him, for one of them to come to his aid and give him a powerful medicine and become his lifelong helper.

The vision quest seldom lasted more than four days and nights. If, at the end of that time the faster saw no vision, he broke his fast and returned to camp. However, a fast always was broken after a vision was obtained, even if it was received on the first day. The quester then returned home and resumed his daily duties.

Frequently two or more Indians went out together to seek visions. Each member of the party chose his own resting place, always at some distance from the others. It was usually planned that he who first broke his fast, whether voluntarily or after obtaining a vision, would proceed to a certain rendezvous point, prepare a meal and wait for his comrades to join him. At this meeting place it was customary for each faster to relate his experiences, unless he had received instructions in his vision never to reveal it to others. Communications at this time were held sacred. Under no circumstances would an Indian reveal another's dream experiences unless he had been authorized to do so.

After his return to camp the successful vision seeker might invite one or more well-known men of the tribe to take a sweat-bath with him. There he related his vision, hoping, with the aid of the superior wisdom of these leaders, to obtain a correct interpretation of it. This practice was never compulsory, however, except in cases where the faster believed his vision was powerful enough to entitle him to the rank of pipe-holder or camp chief.

The next important step was the making of the medicine bundle. This could be done soon after the faster's return to camp or it could be deferred until a later time. Often the dreamer received vision instructions telling him where and when to make preparations for this ceremony. If the dream spirit represented some animal or bird it was necessary to obtain the skin of this particular one. Very often it was necessary to acquire several skins. The dream spirit nearly always appeared to the visionary in some special make-up which had to be carefully duplicated in his medicine bundle.

All the necessary materials procured, the Indian prepared his bundle. This might be done in secrecy, or the visionary might request the assistance of a pipe-holder or a noted medicine man. The medicine man might call a council of other medicine men of the village to which the dreamer would bring all the articles which he thought should belong to his medicine. In this council he related his dream and showed the articles he intended to include in his bundle. If the council approved, he made his bundle as he had planned it. Otherwise, he altered it in accordance with their instructions.

MEDICINE BUNDLE COVERS AND CONTENTS

The covers (containers) of all medicine bundles usually were made by the women, most frequently the wife of the owner. It was considered a great honor to be requested to make a bundle cover. It was also thought to bring good luck to the maker. The cover was made in accordance with the visionary's instructions. Designs painted on covers had symbolic meanings known only to the bundle owner. The colors used were also symbolic of the power vested in the bundle. Color symbolism differed from bundle to bundle. However, it generally represented the seasons, symbolizing the fact that the power of the bundle lasted from season to season and from year to year. Cold Wind represented the various seasons by color as follows: winter, white; spring, green; summer, red; and autumn, yellow.

The contents of medicine bundles comprised symbolic representations of the supernatural beings and forces seen in the owner's dream or vision. Together with the owner they formed a clan. The chief of this clan, the principal supernatural responsible for the vision, is represented in each bundle. With it are included its helpers or servants who assist in guarding the life of the owner.

The vision may also have been seen wearing distinctive facial or body painting. If so, different paints were included in the bundle. If a certain kind of necklace was worn by a supernatural visitant, a close copy of it was made and placed in the bundle. Added to these were the charms, not credited with special potency but thought to assist the owner in accomplishing his desires. These are most frequently pieces of horse hair to aid the owner in obtaining many horses. Similarly elk teeth and beads symbolize the owner's desire for property. Beads in large numbers are found in the rock medicine bundles.

The contents of Crow bundles were rendered even more heterogeneous by the fact that the supernatural visitants seen in more than one vision might be found in a single bundle. If a Crow fasted several times in his lifetime, which was more frequently the rule than the exception, all the supernatural beings seen in his various visions, together with the Indian owner, formed one clan. Even if a former medicine was eclipsed in power by a later one or even neglected on account of its apparent lack of sufficient protective power, its clan would still be represented in later bundles of the owner.

A vision of the sun automatically included its first helper, the eagle, as a member of the clan of the bundle. The sun was regarded as the chief of the sky beings, yet it rarely was seen or even sought in Crow vision quests. According to Crow belief, anyone favored by a vision of the sun will become a great medicine man, but those adopted by the sun invariably will be short-lived. The sun is thought of as a great gambler who frequently loses; hence the early death of those adopted by the sun. The sun is also believed to eat (absorb) its own children—another reason for the early death of its adopted ones. The sun is always considered a male.

The moon is believed to be the sub-chief of all the sky beings. It is considered both male and female because it has appeared in some visions in both masculine and feminine form. Its chief helper is the owl. The Crows favored a vision from the moon because those adopted by it were frequently given long life. Although the moon often gambled, it was invariably the winner. If the moon wishes to adopt an Indian it sends its chief helper, the owl, to appear to the dreamer. However, in some manner the moon will appear, indicating its protection.

The morning star has as its chief helper the Gros Ventre bird (said to be a yellow bird with black and white feathers, but not

the meadowlark). The evening star has the buffalo for a helper. The sky's servant is the thunder, and thunder's helpers are the bald and spotted eagles (which are also the servants of the sun).

The eagles have as their first servant a certain unidentified hawk, while this hawk has as its servant, in turn, three other hawks, from which it chooses according to its own preference—which is revealed in the vision of the Indian. All birds have as their chiefs the lightning, the wind, and the rain. They frequently appear in bundles which have a bird as their principal medicine object. This is especially apparent in shield paintings which combine symbolic representations of lightning, rain, and clouds (the latter taking the place of a storm or wind), along with birds.

Earth is considered the chief and mother of all four-legged animals. It is also the chief of the trees and the elements. Earth has as its helpers rats, mice and snakes.

Water is usually represented in the medicine bundles of the Crows by a strip of otter skin, the otter being the chief of all the water animals. The otter is also a servant of the morning star and a vision of that supernatural would require the inclusion of the otter in a bundle.

The chief of the underwater animals is called the "Long Bug." This mythological creature is thought to possess the body of a huge snake; and it is double-headed. One of its heads resembles that of a cow, with two long horns and eyes as large as sunflowers. The other head looks like that of a human being, with a long Roman nose and a single eye, also as large as a sunflower, in the center of its forehead. Protruding above the single eye is one large horn.

Although the Crows believe in evil spirits, even these have good qualities mixed with the evil ones. Most feared are the mouse, spider, frog, lizard, and the snakes. Any of these, however, may appear to the seeker of visions and by adopting him become his lifelong benefactor.

The mouse is probably the most feared of all supernaturals. It is rarely found in any bundle other than those used for witchcraft. The frog, according to Crow tradition, is the originator of the camp police. The lizard, represented in some bundles collected from the Crows by the writer, is believed to have the power to make rain.

The snake is recognized as the chief of all the "insects." It is never a war medicine, but the snake is the medicine par excellence

used in doctoring, particularly in the dangerous and severe cases. Old Man, Bear Teeth, Flat Dog, Goes Ahead, Slippery Eyes, Bull Snake, Bear-Gets-Up, and Sharp Horn are said to be the only Crows who had the snake for a medicine. All of them used this medicine in doctoring severe cases. Rides-the-Horse also had a snake medicine used for doctoring. But he obtained it in transfer from the Hidatsa Indians.

In nearly all snake medicines the otter is represented also because the Crows believe they belong to the same clan of the "Without Fires." The snake is an earth animal, the otter a water animal. They are thought to be two powers necessary for doctoring, hence their presence together in a medicine bundle. Besides the snake and otter, the wolf and the buffalo are frequent givers of medicines used in doctoring.

TESTING THE MEDICINE BUNDLE

After a new medicine bundle was made it was desirable to test it to see if it would really protect or aid its owner. A young warrior who had just completed his bundle might ask permission to join a war party under the leadership of a noted warrior. When close to the enemy each member of the party took his medicine from its cover. If the young warrior passed through the subsequent conflict without a scratch and perhaps counted coup on an enemy, he had confidence that his bundle was powerful and that its sacred *Maxpé* powers had enabled him to go through the battle unhurt. If this good fortune followed him through several conflicts his medicine became recognized as a strong one and he, himself, acquired a status among his fellows that could not be obtained in any other way. Continued good luck would enable him to advance to the role of scout, then to leader of scouts, and, finally, to the coveted position of leader of his own war party. By then his medicine would have become famous. Many men who had been less fortunate would come to him with presents seeking a duplicate of his bundle or some small part of it.

Although this was particularly applicable to war medicines, almost all types of bundles increased in sacredness and power in proportion to the success they brought to their owners.

Once a bundle was considered really successful, its owner became more circumspect in all his undertakings. He jealously guarded the esteem in which his bundle was held and feared that

any rash act on his part might cause some misfortune which would decrease its prestige. When on the war path, he carefully considered and interpreted all signs and events, whether they betokened good or evil. If the latter, he abandoned the raid and his party returned to their homes. Such actions naturally made the owner of a highly respected bundle a man of mystery who was venerated by the inexperienced younger men.

However, even the most sacred bundles were in danger of loss of prestige through bad luck befalling their owners. When, for instance, the Crows experienced misfortune after the sun dance of White-on-the-Neck, the bundle used in that ceremony was discarded.

Standing Bull, a famous warrior and owner of a bundle, containing a pipe-holder's (war leader's) pipe, claimed the power of lighting his pipe without the use of fire, and successfully demonstrated this wonderful medicine on several occasions. One time, when his party was surrounded by the enemy, Standing Bull opened his bundle, performed the necessary ritual and held the bowl of his pipe toward the sun, expecting it to light. Unfortunately, the pipe did not light. Standing Bull and his party were attacked and suffered some casualties. After this failure the pipe was discarded and never used again.

Many new bundles which brought bad luck rather than success to their owners were discarded. The owner of such a bundle might seek another vision hoping for greater success with it, or he might approach the owner of a renowned medicine bundle with the request that he make him a copy of part or all of his bundle.

Thus it happened that an Indian who had received several dreams or visions which entitled him to make bundles, would still purchase another from some great medicine man. Sometimes, too, the power of a purchased bundle was overshadowed by a later vision, adding still another bundle to the owner's possessions. In such cases the original bundles usually were abandoned, but they were seldom destroyed. So some Indians came to possess a number and variety of bundles, each differing from the others in its content and often, also, in the purpose for which it was used. Undoubtedly this is the principal reason why the number and variety of Crow medicine bundles probably exceeds that of other Plains tribes.

TRANSFER OF BUNDLES

The transfer of a copy of part or all of a medicine bundle constituted a very important ceremony among the Crows. The first requirement was that the Indian who wished to obtain such a bundle should acquire the relationship of "son" toward the owner of the desired bundle. This relationship could only be had by adoption in the tobacco dance. It was necessary, therefore, for the petitioner to gain the good will of the bundle owner so completely that the latter would invite him to join the tobacco society as his candidate. Many presents and acts of kindness were required to accomplish this end. Even after the coveted invitation was received, the "son" had to attend four different tobacco society ceremonials before the desired bundle transfer could take place. A period of a year or more invariably elapsed before all the ceremonial preliminaries were accomplished and the final transfer made. Thus, the owners of the most sacred bundles held a power which approached that of priests among other tribes. By refusing to transfer their power to another, by refusing to interpret certain visions of other men as belonging to the class of pipe-holder or camp chief, they could prevent undesirable individuals from obtaining a status which those in power did not wish them to possess.

In the case of a war medicine transfer the owner of the sacred bundle coveted by a younger man generally had reached an age when his personal participation in war parties had ceased. Yet his bundle had been tested so often, and had been so successful, that it was recognized as a powerful war medicine. The owner of the bundle, or, rather, of its duplicate, instructed the younger man in its ritual, and taught him the medicine songs and the particular steps to be taken in opening and using the bundle. The owner's relationship to the receiver was that of "medicine father" to "medicine son," a bond even closer than that between natural parent and child.

When transferring or duplicating a bundle, the original owner rarely parted with or duplicated every article in the bundle. Since the owner and all the supernaturals represented in the bundle are thought to form one clan, by retaining one object from the bundle in his possession the owner retained his identity with the supernaturals of that clan.

Arapaho, an old Crow Indian living near Hardin, told the

writer that his medicine consisted of the trees and twelve different species of birds. He was empowered in his vision to make four different copies of his bundle. He made these, but he left out two bird skins which he never transferred. To the retention of these articles he attributed his living to a ripe old age. He is now (1927) over seventy. Furthermore, he stated that more than one of the Indians to whom he had transferred his bundle had redreamed his vision and made other duplicates which they transferred to others, so that more than 20 copies of his bundle were to be found among the Crows.

Part or all of a famous bundle might be borrowed for a special occasion. However, the borrower always gave the owner valuable presents consisting of four different articles. If a war medicine was borrowed, and it brought the borrower success in capturing enemy horses, he gave a number of the horses to the owner of the bundle after his safe return from the war expedition. This gift was in addition to the four presents donated.

Upon the death of a Crow Indian his nearest relatives took whatever bundles they wished to secure. The most powerful bundle usually passed into the possession of the nearest surviving direct male relative of the deceased.

CLASSIFICATION OF CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

IT is not possible to classify the great variety of Crow Indian sacred bundles on the sole basis of either (1), similarity of contents, or (2), similarity of functions. Many bundles which served the same general functions differ markedly in their content. Other bundles containing sacred objects of similar appearance served a variety of uses. Nevertheless, it is possible to divide Crow medicine bundles into a limited number of meaningful categories which can be briefly characterized as follows:

1. *Sun Dance Bundles*. These were the only individually owned bundles employed in a ceremony in which the entire tribe participated. The Crow sun dance was never given as a tribal act of adoration of the sun. It was essentially a ceremony in which the participants hoped to receive visions which would enable them to gain revenge upon their enemies. The sun dance bundle, therefore, may be considered the principal war medicine bundle of the Crows. However, unlike other war medicine bundles, it was seldom if ever taken on war expeditions.

2. *War Medicine Bundles*. These sacred bundles were employed to bring success in warfare and in horse stealing. They contain the material representations of the original makers' visions and are, therefore, of many varieties. Of these, the hoop medicines and arrow medicines might be considered subclasses.

3. *Shields*. Painted and decorated shields, formerly numerous among the Crows, were important war medicines.

4. *Skull Medicine Bundles*. The principal article in each of these bundles is a human skull. These bundles approximated the sun dance bundles in sacredness, but they were used for many purposes. At one time they were numerous, but they are now (1927) very scarce because they have usually been buried with their last owners. The younger generation is afraid to handle them or to keep them in their tents or cabins.

5. *Rock Medicine Bundles*. These bundles each contain as their most vital object some kind of sacred rock. They served many different purposes. Some of them were used as war medicines.

6. *Medicine Pipe Bundles*. The principal articles in these

bundles are pipe stems or stems and bowls. Some of these bundles were employed in the Medicine Pipe Ceremony which was of foreign origin. Others were carried by leaders of war expeditions.

7. *Love Medicine Bundles*. These bundles contain sacred objects which were credited with the power to attract such members of the opposite sex as their owners desired.

8. *Witchcraft Bundles*. These bundles were used to gain revenge upon or to do harm to personal enemies of their owners. Great secrecy surrounded their use.

9. *Healing Medicine Bundles*. These bundles contain various articles used in doctoring the sick or healing the wounded.

[10. *Hunting Medicine Bundles*. These bundles contain sacred objects used to bring success in hunting buffalo or other wild game—JCE]²

² Wildschut did not list this tenth class of medicine bundle. However, one of them which he collected is described on p. 146 of this monograph. Lowie (1922. pp. 354-359) described Crow medicines used for charming buffalo and deer.

THE COLLECTION OF CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

A LARGE number of Crow sacred bundles collected by the writer are now in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Although care was taken to obtain all possible data regarding these specimens, a complete account of the origin, history and uses of a bundle seldom could be gotten. In many instances the original owners had died, and their surviving relatives were unfamiliar with the meanings and uses of the various objects contained in the bundles. In other cases complete information was withheld because of the prevalent belief that if this was given, the power of the bundle would pass from the owner.

The contents of a bundle can be replaced. They are but the material representations, sometimes symbolic, of the objects revealed to the dreamer or visionary by the supernatural visitant. The songs and rituals belonging to powerful bundles were the media through which the mystic relationship was established between the bundle owner and the *Maxpé* power of the supernatural visitant. The Indians believe that the mystic power with which each of these bundles is imbued does not manifest itself to its full extent until reanimated by the singing of songs and the performance of the appropriate ceremonies. Only in the ceremonial transfer performed for the creation of a second bundle, a duplicate of the first, were these songs and rituals transferred by a Crow bundle owner. Such transfers among the Crows were by no means rare. But they were impossible between these Indians and a white man. This is another reason why complete information regarding these bundles has not become known.³

³ The editor encountered a similar belief among the Blackfoot Indians in the 1940's. Owners of sacred articles who sold or gave them to other Indians or to collectors believed they retained the right to duplicate these objects at a later date *unless* ownership had been ceremonially transferred. I have known of several sacred objects sold to white collectors which were duplicated by their Indian owners. Indeed, one ceremonial shirt, sold to the Museum of the Plains Indian, was remade by its Indian owner at least twice since that sale. When Makes-Cold-Weather, an elderly Piegan sold his medicine pipe to the Museum of the Plains Indian he was in mourning for his dead wife, and he decided that ownership of this bundle was no longer

Finally it must be remembered that complete information regarding a sacred bundle could not be obtained, in many cases, during a single visit with the Indian owner. More than one visit was required. This was not always possible, and it is another reason for our imperfect knowledge of some of these medicine bundles.⁴

important to him. He insisted that this bundle be ceremonially transferred to me, as curator of the museum, so that he could relinquish all title to it and never be tempted to remake the bundle. Nor would any other Indian have the right to duplicate this bundle.

⁴ The discussion of 10 types of Crow medicine bundles which follows includes: (1), field data, descriptions and museum photographs of a number of the bundles collected by Wildschut for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, (2), descriptions and photographs of a few especially significant bundles (such as the famous Rotten Belly shield and medicine pipes) which Wildschut purchased from Crow Indians for the museum, but about which he was unable to obtain detailed field information, and (3), field accounts of a few important medicine bundles obtained by Wildschut even though he was unable to purchase these bundles from their Indian owners.

SUN DANCE BUNDLES

As the sun dance of the Crow Indians has been fully described by Dr. Lowie in his paper, *The Sun Dance of the Crow* (Lowie, 1915), only such information as has not been incorporated in his paper will be presented here.⁵

ORIGIN OF THE SUN DANCE BUNDLE

The sun dance bundle is not only the most sacred bundle among the Crow Indians but it is also one of the oldest, its origin extending back many generations, if not centuries. The origin of this bundle at first appeared to the writer to be lost. A large number of the oldest Crows were questioned about this but none could give a satisfactory answer.

Dr. Lowie presented as the story of the origin of the sun dance bundle an account given him by Bird-All-Over-the-Ground in which a Crow named Four Dance (*Andícícòpe*) was credited with the discovery of the sun dance doll.⁶ This account is obviously erroneous in view of the following facts:

Four Dance was a comparatively recent individual. He died about 1870 and was well remembered by a few of the Crow Indians still living in 1927. He was said to have been an old man at the time of his death. If we estimate the date of his birth at approximately 1800, it seems improbable that he would have received his vision of the sun dance doll until he was 20 to 25 years of age. This would bring the origin of the Crow sun dance well within the historic period. One sun dance bundle collected by the writer is undoubtedly of earlier origin. (See the account of the Sees-the-Tent-Ground bundle, and the color reproduction of the dolls in that bundle in Plate 2).

⁵ One of the best descriptions of the Crow sun dance in the literature is the one given to Lewis Henry Morgan by the Crow trader, Robert Meldrum, in 1862. (Morgan, 1959. pp. 183-188). Edward S. Curtis published an excellent description of the sun dance given by Big Shadow in 1844, as told to him by Hunts-to-Die. (Curtis, Vol. IV. 1909. pp. 67-80).

⁶ Lowie (1915. pp. 13-14).

Furthermore, the writer obtained the story of Four Dance's vision quest from Chief Two Leggings, who knew Four Dance. In this account it is related that when Four Dance fasted he took with him a sun dance effigy belonging to his grandmother which he hoped would aid him to obtain a vision. Two Leggings' account of Four Dance's experience is otherwise similar to the one published by Dr. Lowie, except that Four Dance, through his vision, was believed to have become invulnerable.

What appears to be an older Crow tradition of the origin of the sun dance bundle was related by Two Leggings, Chief of the River Crows. Two Leggings served me as a principal informant on Crow Indian religion for nearly five years prior to his death in April 1923.⁷

"Many years ago the Crows had no enemies. They never went on the warpath to kill members of other tribes. All lived in peace and were happy.

"One day a man whose real name I do not recall, but whom I shall call Prairie-Dog-Man, went on a deer hunt and took his little son with him. Some strange people emerged from the edge of the forest, ran to the little boy and killed him, and then disappeared. Prairie-Dog-Man was heartbroken. He went out into the hills, weeping and mourning. There he heard a voice from above saying to him. 'Build a structure for the sun. Those who killed your son are forest people.'

"Although Prairie-Dog-Man heard the voice clearly, he could not understand the meaning of these words. He did not know what a structure for the sun might be. He returned to his people and made many inquiries, hoping that someone could tell him about a structure for the sun. He also asked the forest people. But no one could give him any information.

"Disappointed, Prairie-Dog-Man again left his village and roamed about the country. In the neighborhood of Rosebud Creek he sat down by the edge of a prairie dog village. Then suddenly he heard a voice saying, 'The structure I desire you to build for the sun is over there. The forest people will come to you and you will have your revenge.'

"Prairie-Dog-Man ceased weeping, stood up, and looked a-

⁷ According to Curtis (Vol. IV. 1909. p. 207) Two Leggings was born about the year 1848. He was a member of the Not Mixed clan, and was a war leader. J. H. Sharp's oil portrait of Two Leggings, painted from life on the Crow Reservation, is in the U. S. National Museum. It is reproduced as Fig. 1 in this monograph.

round. But he saw no one. So he sat down again and waited. Then he noticed that the prairie dogs were assembling and that one of them was transformed into a human being. It spoke. 'There is a living being who has come to see us. All come and gather here for you have made the structure for the sun.'

"The prairie dog village now became transformed into an Indian village. All the mounds became tipis, their sizes proportionate to those of the different mounds. While Prairie-Dog-Man looked at the structure for the sun he noticed a man and his wife walking toward it. But a voice within it said, 'Do not come yet. You have not brought the effigy you made.'

"Although he heard these words distinctly, Prairie-Dog-Man could not see the speaker. But again he heard the voice. 'Go and return from where the sun sets.'

"Then another person appeared carrying a pine tree in his arms. And when the man and woman returned from the direction of the sunset he heard the unseen voice speak to them. 'Why did you forget this? This is the most important thing. Have pity upon that man over there and show him this.'

"In the top of the pine tree was fastened a hoop made of willow and tied to it were seven eagle feathers spread out in a fan shape. The man carrying the pine tree handed it to the man and woman coming from the direction of the sunset and said, 'You have been waiting for this. Now is the time to show it to the man whose child has been killed.'

"Then the man and his wife sang a song and made a striking gesture. Suddenly there appeared a little screech owl of the kind that lives among the prairie dogs. It flew straight to the pine tree where the hoop was fastened. There it changed into an effigy. The man and his wife were nearing the structure when the voice from within, which represented the dancer, was heard to say, 'I have no skunk skin yet, nor any deerskin, nor a whistle, nor eagle plumes.'

"The man actually had these things, but he said this so that Prairie-Dog-Man might hear it. Prairie-Dog-Man also heard the sound of a rattle and was told that it represented the buffalo's genitals. Then he could see the dancer inside the structure. He had a plume fastened to his little finger and wore another around his neck and one on top of his head. The dancer sang a song. 'What you are going to dance has come now.' Prairie-Dog-Man had ceased mourning and watched the ceremony closely. He saw the various

facial paintings of the people inside the structure. And all the time the people were singing the same song.

"Finally Prairie-Dog-Man, feeling tired, fell asleep under a large sage brush. When he awoke next morning he found the people in the structure still singing the same song. Soon, however, he heard the camp crier calling: '*Ahea! Ahea! Ahea!* Bring what you have. We will hold a ceremony over them all.'

"One man arose to his feet, and called out, 'I was a pipe-holder and I killed one of those who brought sorrow to you and I brought back his scalp.' He referred to the forest people. Then another rose and said, 'Down in the west there was a person killed, and when they killed him I struck him first and took his bow.'

"The men inside the structure all had feathers on their heads and their faces were painted in various designs. One after another they stood up, and each related what he had done to or taken from the enemy. Each direction was mentioned—north, south, east, and west.

"Finally the sun rose high in the sky. Prairie-Dog-Man opened his eyes wide and seemed to awake from a dream. Instead of seeing people and tipis, he saw only a field of skunk cabbage. Then he went home and told his people what he had seen. He told them to move camp to Bear Dance (a locality on Rosebud River) and there he would build a sun dance structure.

"Big Bird, a young man of small stature, fat, and an orphan, told Prairie-Dog-Man he wanted to join in the ceremony. He had always made fun of everything sacred. So the people were astonished that he should want to take part in this performance. They were still more surprised to hear Big Bird say, 'You people should know that I am the originator of this ceremony. I have two friends who told me all about it.'⁸

"Before the camp arrived at Bear Dance, Big Bird told the people to gather buffalo tongues, saying that everything that lives eats. Before the structure was finished he also told them that after the ceremony they should move down the Rosebud and Tulloch Creek. 'There,' he said, 'are some people hunting buffalo, and they are the ones who are given to me.'

"After the camp arrived at Bear Dance, Big Bird took some ash wood and from it carved a doll and covered its body with deerskin.

⁸ This reference is to two boys who, according to Crow mythology, were created by First Worker, and who became the first builders of a sweat lodge.

This was the first sun dance effigy. On the cover of the effigy Big Bird painted crosses. Then he took some owl feathers and, after tying them in a bunch, fastened them to the head of the doll. All he would say was that he had been given these instructions by the two boys. And the Indians understood that he meant the two boys who had been given the sweat lodge by First Worker.

"Then Prairie-Dog-Man exclaimed, 'That is exactly the effigy I saw in my dream.'

"Big Bird then instructed the people to fetch him three poles. He tied them together at the top with rawhide ropes and intertwined them with green-leaved willow stems. The fastened ends of the poles were raised some distance above the ground. (In later years four poles furnished the foundation of the Crow sun-dance lodge).

"In the morning," Big Bird said, 'we shall cut the other poles which are to be leaned against these three. But before doing so you must find me a virtuous woman.'

"Next day the virtuous woman was brought to the trees to be felled. Big Bird waited for her, holding a sharp-pointed antler with its point against one of the trees. He sang a song, after which the woman gave a blow with a stone axe against the other end of the antler causing the tree to fall. Big Bird then began to sing a song, and all the people gathered around struck the felled tree using the same expression as was employed in later years by a warrior when he counted coup—*Ahea!* The people wondered why this was necessary. Finally they said, 'It must be because some day we may go toward the forest people.'

"Then the other trees needed for the sun dance lodge were felled without ceremony. Big Bird told the people to get buffalo ropes, tie them to the poles, and drag them to the place where the structure was to be built.

"When Big Bird asked, 'Is there a man among you who has a bird for a medicine?,' he received no reply. So Big Bird said he would do what his two friends had taught him. Taking an eagle wing in each hand he advanced toward the three poles that had been tied together. Moving his arms like the wings of a bird he walked up to the pole which was pointed toward the west. At the same time he sang a song, the words of which were, 'The buffalo are coming.'

"Then Big Bird took the effigy he had made and had Prairie-Dog-Man face the pine tree while he himself faced the sunrise. The

pine tree had been set in a large hole in the ground at the bottom of which live embers were placed and upon them a quantity of pine needles. As the incense rose toward the sky and enveloped the tree, Big Bird took the effigy and tied it with buffalo hair to the pine tree in front of the hoop with the seven feathers attached. He told Prairie-Dog-Man to look always in the face of the effigy and to dance toward it and when he came close to it to dance backward until he told him to stop. Prairie-Dog-Man was selected as the dancer because his son had been killed. And ever since that time, should a member of the tribe who is held in great esteem by his relatives be killed by an enemy, his chief mourner has been the dancer in this ceremony.

"Big Bird now sent for a rawhide. When it was brought to him he placed it on the ground in front of some of the men sitting in the structure and told them to take some sticks and beat upon it while he sang. He himself had a rattle in his hands. The words of his song were, 'Bullrushes will be your tipi poles.'

"The ceremony continued for two days. When the camp broke up Big Bird told the people that if they had any small buffalo calfskins, feathers, tails of birds, or moccasins they should tie them where the poles were fastened together or to the tops of the poles and leave them there as sacrifices to the sun. That is how sacrifices to the sun began.

"Now the camp was moved toward Tulloch Creek. There a herd of buffalo was discovered. When the hunters tried to kill some of them with their bows and arrows, they saw four people. Prairie-Dog-Man cried out, 'There are the forest people who killed my child.' The Crows all began shooting at these people and killed them. That was the first time the Crows ever killed, and the place where this happened is still known to us as 'where the first people were killed by the Crows.' After the forest people were killed, one of the Crows struck them and another took their bows and arrows. That is how the custom of counting coups originated."

NUMBER OF CROW SUN DANCE BUNDLES

Two Leggings named eleven Crows who had owned sun dance bundles that had been used in one or more ceremonies: With-His-Elder-Brother, Sleeps-With-Everything, Jack-Rabbit-Child, Yellow Leggings, Somebody-Who-Gives-Food, Sore Tail, Crooked

Arm, Wolf Gun, Sees-the-Living-Bull, Buffalo Horn, and Looks Under.⁹

Two Leggings said that he had witnessed seven Crow sun dance ceremonies. In some years several of these ceremonies were performed, in others none. The sun dance was not an annual ceremony among the Crows as it was among other Plains Indian tribes.

TWO LEGGINGS' SUN DANCE BUNDLE

FIGURES 2, 3 AND 4

Chief Two Leggings recited the origin and described the contents of a sun dance bundle which was obtained from him for the museum collections shortly before his death in April 1923. This bundle is CAT. NO. 14/5470.

"The effigy used in the sun dance ceremony of Shows-his-Face came into my possession in later years. Having dreamed about a sun dance doll during one of my medicine fasts, I had acquired the right to possess one of these bundles. Instead of making one for myself, I bought this one from Goes-Around-All-the-Time, also known as Sees-the-Living-Bull. Soon after I came into possession of this bundle Crooked Arm told me its history. I no longer recall the name of the original owner, so I shall call him Has-No-Name:

"Near the present site of Hysham at a place they called 'the rimrock full of holes,' the Crows camped one day. Near their camp was an abandoned sun dance lodge which had been built one or two years before for Yellow Leggings. That ceremony had been the means of securing for him the revenge he desired upon his enemies.

"Has-No-Name went to fast in this old lodge, hoping to obtain a powerful medicine. He pierced his breast muscles with skewers, tied himself with thongs to one of the poles, and fasted thus. He heard voices singing, but he failed to obtain a vision. Has-No-Name again fasted in this lodge after the Crows, moved their camp up the Yellowstone. But again he saw no vision.

"Following the camp up the Yellowstone, he passed the

⁹ Bear Crane told Lowie that he knew of six men who had owned distinct sun dance dolls. (Lowie, 1915. p. 12). However, Robert Meldrum, as early as 1862, told Morgan of eight of these images owned by Crows who loaned them to persons who made the sun dance lodge. (Morgan, 1959. pp. 185-186).

mouth of the Big Horn where he discovered the framework of another sun dance lodge. Again he determined to seek a vision by fasting in that abandoned lodge for several days. Once more he could hear voices singing, but he received no vision in which a supernatural appeared to him.

"Soon after Has-No-Name rejoined the Crow camp, he had the misfortune to lose his wife and one of his children named Bull. The child was killed by the enemy. The Crow camp moved toward the mouth of Bad Creek near the Red Lodge Mountains. There a sun dance lodge was erected. But instead of participating in the ceremony Has-No-Name went to the top of a nearby mountain, mourning for the loss of his family.

"For three days and nights he continued his fast. And on the morning of the fourth day his efforts and sufferings were rewarded. He saw some people dancing and heard them singing. They were standing on one of the peaks of the Wolf Mountains. Gradually they came nearer, until at last they appeared in the abandoned sun dance lodge below, where the Crows had recently ended their ceremony. Has-No-Name saw four men and women distinctly. Backward and forward they danced. One of the men held both hands in front of his face, palms inward, carrying a sun dance doll. He recognized one of the women as a person of his tribe, and after his return to the Crow camp he married her.

"Later that year Holds-the-Young-Buffalo-Tail, whose brother had been killed by the enemy, approached Has-No-Name, having heard of the latter's dream, and asked him to help him to avenge his brother's death. Then Has-No-Name decided to make the sun dance doll as it had appeared to him in his dream.

"He chose a beautiful sunny day and a place in the open within the camp circle to make the effigy. A fine buffalo robe was spread on the ground and everyone was invited to witness the ceremony. A piece was cut from the center of a white-tailed deer skin. This was the only skin permitted to be used in the making of a sun dance doll.

"Then men were called upon to sew the effigy. This was always men's work, as no woman was permitted to touch a sun dance doll. Only virtuous men were allowed to do this work. The ones chosen on this occasion were Holds Back and Young Curlew. After taking a sweatbath and purifying themselves in the smoke of pine needles these men seated themselves on the buffalo robe, with three medicine men on either side of them. The sewing was done with the

sinew of the white-tailed deer. (No other sinew was permitted). And before each stitch was taken four songs were sung. With each song the sewer pretended to start his stitch, but three times he fainted, and only after the fourth song was sung did he actually make the stitch.

"Before the effigy was entirely sewn, it was stuffed with sacred sweetgrass and white-pine needles, mixed with hair taken from the temples and chin of a mountain sheep and the mule deer (because of their ability to climb and to run over the most dangerous places).

"After the sewing was completed, owl feathers were attached to the head of the effigy. The owl is a sacred bird because it can see at night, and its power will assist the warriors to see things which are hidden from other people.

"The painting of the effigy was done with a birch twig, one end of which was chewed to make a brush. Again, four songs were sung before the painter actually applied paint to the doll. Although the materials used in constructing and stuffing sun dance effigies are the same, all of these dolls are not painted alike. The character of the painting depends upon the vision experienced, and therefore is made to represent the counterpart of the effigy seen in the faster's dream."

In this case (Fig. 2), the effigy was painted red and yellow to represent the early morning sky with its varicolored clouds. The red semicircle on its forehead indicates the rainbow, and the two streaks beneath its eyes, the marking under the eyes of the screech owl, symbolizing the sacred powers of vision. The broad blue stripe down the body indicates the sky, and the smaller horizontal stripes represent, on one side, the wrinkles of old people, insuring for the owner health and long life, and on the other side, eagle plumes, symbolic of fog. The little black spots around the neck of the effigy represent hail and rain, indications of sudden storms. In event that the owner found himself at any time pursued by the enemy, he thus was endowed with the power to call forth a sudden storm between himself and his pursuer, thereby retarding the enemy's progress. This sun dance doll measures 6' in height.

After the effigy was entirely finished, the bundle was provided with a kilt to be worn by the dancer. Such kilts were always made from the skin of a male black-tailed deer. (See Fig. 3, upper left).

Included in the bundle is a necklace of skunk skin, worn by the dancer in the sun dance. The skunk is thought of as a foolish

animal, living mostly underground, and with its assistance the dancer is made to go mad. The skin is painted with white clay, representing the earth. (Fig. 3, right). Owl feathers usually are attached to the necklace to aid the wearer in seeing objects which are hidden from others.

Finally there are included in this bundle a buffalo-hide rattle, a hair-lock attachment, and a whistle made from the wingbone of an eagle. (Fig. 4). The hair-lock attachment, which symbolizes fog, was worn tied to the hair on the top of the whistler's head. It was hoped that fog might surround the enemy when a Crow war party bent on revenge was closing in on them, thereby preventing the Crows from being observed.

The rattle also was painted. The red lines represent the clouds of early dawn; the yellow lines indicate the radiating streaks sent forth by the sun before it appears above the horizon, and both symbolize that early period just before sunrise when the most successful medicine dreams were experienced. The face painted on the rattle represents the face of the person who showed the originator of the medicine the sun dance effigy in his vision.

When the bundle is not in use its contents are covered with a black wrapper, symbolizing night. The whole is encased in a boat-shaped container of buffalo rawhide which is painted to represent the mountains, the earth, the sky and the rainbow. (See Fig. 3, lower left).¹⁰

This bundle was used in at least four sun dance ceremonies; those of Holds-the-Young-Buffalo-Tail, Puts-Earth-on-the-Top-of-His-Head, Shows-His-Face, and Sees-the-Living-Bull.¹¹

SEES-THE-TENT-GROUND'S SUN DANCE BUNDLE

PLATE 2 AND FIGURE 5

This bundle, CAT. NO. 11/6627, was collected in 1923. It was once owned by Sees-the-Tent-Ground, the oldest Crow woman living at that time. Although she was reputed to be 103 years of age, she was still of excellent memory. She informed the writer

¹⁰ This container, 14³/₄" long and 6¹/₄" high at the ends, is painted in red, yellow, blue and green. The symbolic designs are all geometric ones. The rattle in this bundle is of the familiar bulbous type with an inserted stick handle. The bone whistle measures 7¹/₄" long.

¹¹ A condensed description of this bundle was published in *Indian Notes*. (Wildschut, 1926a. pp. 99-107).

that this bundle once was owned by her grandmother, who was not its first possessor.

The five small effigies contained in this bundle are all relatively simple in form. Not only are there no arms or legs portrayed (as is common in other sun dance dolls), but the heads are not sharply set off from the bodies. The body of each doll is painted green and decorated with dark brown symbols of the moon and the morning star. Owl feathers are attached to each head.

This bundle also contains four bone whistles of different lengths, two braids of sweetgrass, two skunk-skin necklaces, fragments of commercial plug tobacco, a bunch of small feathers, a tied fragment of trade cloth, and a small packet of medicine. (Fig. 5). Nevertheless, the contents probably are incomplete. These objects are carefully wrapped in trade cloth and are contained in a rectangular rawhide case bearing painted designs on one side and measuring 22" long by 10" high.¹²

OTHER SUN DANCE EFFIGIES

FIGURES 6 THROUGH 11

[The other sun dance bundles collected by Wildschut are accompanied by very little field information. However, the dolls in these bundles, the major sacred articles associated with the Crow sun dance, are of particular interest for comparison with those in the better-documented bundles previously described.

Fig. 6 portrays two effigies in the sun dance bundle of Shows-his-Face. This bundle (CAT. NO. 12/6426) was forwarded to the museum by Wildschut on December 31, 1923. The head and body of the larger doll (at left) measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. It is painted blue, yellow and red. The smaller doll is $8\frac{3}{4}$ " high. It has a background of dark blue paint and designs in green and red. Both dolls are of the generalized stuffed-buckskin type, with owl feather pendants at base and head, and screech owl streaks painted below the eyes as well as semicircles over the foreheads.

Two sun dance dolls contained in separate bundles, both of which Mr. Wildschut obtained from Kills-With-His-Brother, are variants of the stuffed buckskin type. They are alike in possessing

¹² It is unfortunate that more is not known about the origin and history of this bundle. It has the appearance of being of considerable age, and it probably is the oldest sun dance bundle collected by Wildschut or any other Crow investigator.

relatively large heads in proportion to the sizes of their bodies, in having skunk skin pendants from the bases of the bodies, and in the additions of bead necklaces. Fig. 7 is the effigy in a bundle forwarded by Wildschut on October 4, 1923. (CAT. NO. 12/3102). The head comprises 4" of the total $10\frac{1}{2}$ " height. The elaborate paintings are in red, yellow and some green. The necklace is of dried seeds. Fig. 8 portrays the effigy in the bundle forwarded by Wildschut on August 2, 1924. (CAT. NO. 13/2312). The head alone makes up $4\frac{1}{2}$ " of the total doll height of 11". The painting is done in blue, red and green. The necklace is composed of trade beads with a small piece of abalone shell pendant.

Fig. 9 depicts the first sun dance doll collected by Wildschut. It was forwarded to the museum on November 9, 1921. (CAT. NO. 10/9764). It differs markedly from the sun dance effigies previously described in being both more realistic and much more detailed. Although this figure is of stuffed buckskin, as are the others, it is much more realistically proportioned, includes arms and legs, and is costumed. The buckskin head, painted yellow and red, has a crown of white seed beads, eyes of blue and white seed beads, and a mouth of blue seed beads. The body, painted yellow with red accents, has a piece of black cloth wrapped around the waist and extending to the feet. Total height of head and body is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ". The elaborate accessories also appear to be atypical. They include an upright yellow-painted plume flanked by small black feathers above the head, a short scalp lock. Strips of weasel skin attached to the neck and a coiled rope of braided horsehair attached at the waist. This so-called sun dance effigy, obtained from Old White Man, resembles the secular dolls of the Crows more closely than do the other sun dance dolls. Its fresh appearance and the extensive use of seed beads in its decoration both suggest that it is not old. Probably it was made during the Reservation Period, possibly within the present century. It is improbable that it ever saw service in a Crow Indian sun dance.¹³

¹³ Lowie (1915. pp. 12, 49) mentioned spurious sun dance effigies based upon pretended revelations, which brought misfortune when used in a sun dance. This specimen hardly can be considered one of them for it probably was made since the traditional Crow sun dance was discontinued some forty or more years before this specimen was collected.

Lowie saw only two sun dance effigies on the Crow Reservation. He purchased one of them from Pretty Enemy for the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. (CAT. NO. 50.1/4011A). It is of the generalized stuffed buckskin type, small-headed, armless and legless, with owl feather head pendant. (See Lowie, 1915. Fig. 1 and pp. 15-18).

Two carved wooden effigies were contained in other sun dance bundles collected by Mr. Wildschut. Fig. 10 shows an effigy 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high obtained from Three-Fore-Top and forwarded to the museum on September 21, 1922. (CAT. NO. 11/6466). This effigy appears to resemble the general description of a carved sun dance doll with stuffed buckskin body contained in Two Legging's account, *supra*, of the origin of the Crow sun dance. This doll is made of a single piece of wood comprising a semi-realistic carved head and a long, cylindrical shaft ($\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter). The nose and mouth are defined by carving, and trade beads are inserted in the eye depressions. A stuffed buckskin body is constructed around the greater part of the length of the wooden shaft. This body is painted red with black meandering vertical lines. Although characteristic sun dance accessories were lacking in this bundle, it did contain an interesting tubular pipe, shown in Fig. 16. The short bowl (2" long) is of catlinite, and is inserted unto an undecorated, tubular willow stem only 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long. It seems possible that this effigy and its accompanying pipe comprised a war medicine rather than a sun dance one.

Fig. 11 portrays a wood carving appearing in a sun dance bundle, which was definitely a war medicine. Wildschut's correspondence at the time this bundle was shipped to the museum (October 16, 1923) stated that this bundle originally contained a buckskin sun dance effigy as well as this wood carving, but that the wooden effigy "was said to have been used on the warpath, because if it should get wet, it would not spoil as easily as the buckskin one."

This rare example of Crow Indian wood carving stands 11" high. It is a conventionalized carving of a nude man. The entire surface appears to have been rubbed, rather than painted, with red color. The curved brow and crosses on the chest are painted in green. The eyes are inset with trade beads and the necklace is composed of a string of alternate black and white pony beads. This wood carving, even though it was part of a sun dance bundle, should properly be considered a warpath medicine. However, it is of particular interest for comparison with Crow sun dance effigies, and as a demonstration that all three-dimensional Crow representations of the human figure were not sun dance dolls.

Wildschut rendered the Crow name for the sun dance effigy, *Mareo- Miraxpakah*. He found that *Miraxpakah* meant a plurality of undefined human beings and that anything might be *Mareo*, or

consecrated. His translation for the Crow sun dance effigy name was, therefore: consecrated beings—[JCE].

CONJECTURAL HISTORY OF THE SUN DANCE BUNDLE

Mrs. The Trail claimed that certain songs are the common property of all sun dance bundles and that from the first effigy (mentioned in 'Two Leggings' origin legend, *supra*) all others originated. This would seem to imply that in early times these effigies did not necessarily originate in dreams, but were handed down from one owner to the other.

If we review the information obtained by the writer in the field and examine the specimens he collected, we find that many sun dance effigies have important characteristics in common—the heads and bodies are stuffed and covered with the same materials, they have headgear of owl feathers, two streaks painted under the eyes representing the sacred vision of the screech owl, and a painted semicircle over the forehead. Perhaps only the more recent bundles contain effigies painted to represent the supernaturals seen in the faster's visions.

Unlike all other Crow ceremonies, the sun dance always has been a tribal one. All of these factors suggest to the writer that in ancient times the sun dance bundle of the Crows may have been a tribal one.

WAR MEDICINE BUNDLES

As a background for my descriptions of the individually owned war bundles, I should like to consider briefly the subjects of leadership and war customs among the Crows. Most of my information on these subjects was obtained from Plenty Coups, the only surviving camp chief among the Crows (1927) and from Chief Two Leggings (now deceased). My findings differ materially from those already in print.

CROW LEADERSHIP

Bravery was greatly admired among the Crows and the warrior with many coups to his name acquired a prestige not enjoyed by men of lesser fame. However, the possession of war honors alone could not make a Crow Indian a chief or even a pipe-holder.

Four types of coups, *viz*: striking an enemy first, cutting a picketed horse from in front of an enemy tipi, taking a gun from an enemy, and successfully acting as the leader of a war party, were generally regarded as the requirements for chieftaincy only in so far as the establishment of eligibility for purchase of such a chieftaincy was concerned. By themselves they never automatically made the performer of such deeds a chief. A very important distinction also was made between the ranks of chiefs.

The Crows translate in the white man's language both the office of pipe-holder and that of chief by the name of "chief." Yet the latter office is the only real chief. A literal translation of the two names will make this clearer. The name for pipe-holder in the Crow language is *Akdoochia-Aketchkan*, meaning: "The-One-Who-Manages- (or Owns) the-War-Party." The name for chief is *Asheahke-Matsetse*, which means: "The-One-Who-Owns-the-Camp."

The office of chief (The-One-Who-Owns-the-Camp) was entirely dependant upon a vision. Acting according to instructions received in his dreams and visions he guided the people to places where there always was an abundance of meat and game and plenty of feed for the horses and where the camp was safe from the assault of

enemy war parties. To such chiefs was entrusted the absolute authority over the camp and in their power rested the true government. Their orders were law in camp, as the pipe-holder's were law on the warpath, and had to be explicitly obeyed. Those who disobeyed these orders were severely punished. Because the welfare of the whole camp was of so much greater importance than the welfare of a single war party, these chiefs were recognized as ranking higher than were the pipe-holders.

When a large camp was about to move, the chiefs present met and discussed the various dreams they had received. One of them might state that in one of his dreams he had been shown a certain camping place, but that elements in his dream had appeared which made him doubt whether a move in that direction was advisable. The other chiefs then in turn related their dreams and finally, after much discussion, a certain location was decided upon. No pipe-holders were present at these conferences. In case the chiefs could not agree upon one place, each announced the location to which he intended to move. The camp divided into several parties and each chief selected his own camp leader and camp police, and moved in whatever direction he decided upon, followed by those who had particular faith in that chief.

It was necessary for the would-be chief to relate his dreams or visions by which he claimed this privilege, and this was done with much ceremony in the assembly of all chiefs and pipe-holders. If this assembly decided that his dream was powerful enough to warrant the coveted position, the aspirant was placed on trial. The whole camp was placed under his sole command, all other chiefs regardless of their standing taking orders from him. Camp was moved to different locations. Usually four moves were made in this period of trial. If the would-be chief was successful in bringing plenty of meat for the people and feed for the horses, and if no misfortunes were encountered nor the camp attacked and defeated by enemies, and if those war parties returning during this period were successful ones, the aspirant was acclaimed a chief and permitted to take part in the councils. The camp then resumed its regular custom of living under the direction, not of one chief alone, but of the council of chiefs.

Such chiefs could never be deposed. However, if a camp under the direction of a certain chief met with many reverses the people gradually lost faith in his ability as a leader, his following grew fewer and fewer. Finally that chief abdicated voluntarily.

White-on-the-Side-of-His-Head was a famous Crow camp chief in the 1860's. Although he was a most successful leader, he carried no martial honors. He always prayed for his people and made many ceremonial sweat-baths. He was known as a man especially favored with dreams and visions. Of the chiefs of this type only one survives among the Crows today (1927). He is Plenty Coups, and he is also a pipe-holder.

An ambitious warrior with many coups to his name, but who never had been so fortunate as to obtain a vision in which the office of pipe-holder was given to him, might approach a famous pipe-holder to seek the transfer of his medicine. The first time he took presents to the pipe-holder, mostly in the form of meat. He repeated his gifts on four different occasions. Then the aspirant openly revealed to the pipe-holder the reason for his favors and asked him for the transfer of his medicine. The transfer was optional with the pipe-holder. If he consented and ceremonially transferred his power to the aspirant, the latter became recognized as a pipe-holder. The successful leadership of subsequent war parties reflected credit upon the one from whom he had received his medicine. If the pipe-holder refused the aspirant, the latter might at a later date obtain a vision which would entitle him to the status of pipe-holder. The acquisition of additional coups would raise his status as a warrior, but they alone would not entitle him to the position he coveted.

The pipe-holder was entitled to wear leggings fringed with scalplocks, horsehair or weasel strips. He was also entitled to wear the war shirt. But unless he had counted the required coups, he could not wear both shirt and fringed leggings at the same time.

Bear Rectum, a famous Crow pipe-holder of the period of the 1860's, led many successful war parties, but had no coups to his name. He directed his men but never went into battle himself. This appears further to substantiate the contention that the office of pipe-holder, like that of chief, was more dependent upon dreams and visions than upon the acquisition of martial honors.

There are still living among the Crows (1927) about twelve men who have been pipe-holders and who are commonly called chiefs. They are Plenty Coups; Cuts-the-Bear and Bell Rock, in the Pryor District; Bull-Don't-Fall-Down and Cross Ways (also called John Wallace), in the Blacklodge District; Cold Wind, in the Big Horn District; Iron Forks, at Reno; Hillside and Two Whistles, at Lodge Grass; and Shows-His-Coups and Whinnies (also called Neighing

Horse), at Wyola. Bell Rock in his younger days was a famous pipe-holder. He had more coups to his name than did Plenty Coups. Yet Bell Rock never acquired the rank of camp chief.

The pipe-holders form a society of which Plenty Coups is at the present time (1927) the leader. Within this society are certain divisions. Cold Wind stated that Plenty Coups, Hillside, Wolf Bear, Flathead Woman and himself formed one of these divisions. The writer has long known that a certain initiation rite accompanied entrance into this society. However, this rite was secret and the living pipe-holders with whom I have talked have always evaded making direct answers to my queries about it. The fragmentary information received indicates that it was a lengthy ceremony accompanied by various acts of self-sacrifice and torture.

Cold Wind stated that he became a pipe-holder through the transfer of this power from his brother, who had previously attained that office. Later he fasted and saw the vision which had originated in his brother's bundle. He refused either to show or to sell his pipe-holder's bundle. He said, however, that his bundle contained a green plume, a symbol of the antlers of a moose while still in velvet. At the lower end of this plume are fastened two outstretched bird wings on each of which is painted a single red horse-track. Short strips of weasel-skin and beads are wrapped around the lower edge of the plume and suspended from it are several differently colored horse tails.

WAR HONORS AND INSIGNIA

The striking of different coups entitled Crow warriors to wear certain insignia. A knotted and cut rope tied to a horse's neck signified that its owner had cut loose a picketed horse from in front of an enemy's tipi. The number of horses captured was represented by stripes of white clay under the horse's eyes, or on its flanks. A hand painted in white clay on a horse showed that the rider had knocked down, while mounted on his own horse, an enemy either on foot or on horseback. A scalp tied to a horse's bridle was an insigne only allowed to a pipe-holder.

The taking of a scalp was indicated by tying it to the end of a coup stick. Eagle feathers were attached to the coup stick if the owner, on several occasions, had struck an enemy first or had killed a number of enemies. Eagle feathers tied to a gun indicated the number of enemies killed.

A warrior who struck an enemy first was entitled to a coyote tail at the heel of one of his moccasins. He could fasten a coyote tail to both moccasins if he had performed this deed twice. A warrior who recovered from a battle wound painted the place where the wound was received with a black circle and red stripes radiating from it before he went on parade.

A warrior who took a gun from the enemy or who struck an enemy first was entitled to wear a war shirt, but not a pair of fringed leggings. Striking an enemy, the most important of the four major coups, entitled the shirt-wearer to attach to it the four decorated strips which were quilled in the early days and later were beaded, and which were sewn across the shoulders and to the sleeves. It was a great distinction among the Crows to be able to wear a war shirt. Even today (1927) no Crow will publicly wear a war shirt unless he is entitled to it. There is no hereditary right to the wearing of such a garment.

Since the end of the intertribal wars a new way has been found to give the ambitious youth the right to wear these shirts. A number of young Crows, led by an older man, offer a visiting Indian of a different tribe many presents to induce him to act as an enemy. This "enemy" is given a good horse and starts out from camp in the evening. Next morning before dawn the Crows start out on the trail of this "enemy". The Crow who manages to overtake him and strike the first coup is entitled to wear the honors formerly earned by this act in actual combat. Four times, and on different occasions, this young man must strike the first coup, which is usually done by hitting the "enemy" lightly with a stick or with the hand, before he is entitled to wear the decorated war shirt. This is one reason why they are valued very highly by the Crows and are scarcer among them than among other Plains Indians.

All these different insignia were highly coveted by the true warrior, and the esteem he enjoyed in the tribe was greater according to the kind and number of deeds performed. However, these honors were purely material ones and the greatest honors came to those whose dreams and visions never failed. On the warpath they belonged to him who led his party safely and returned with the spoils but without the loss of a man, even if he himself had not participated in the performance of brave deeds on the expedition.¹⁴

¹⁴ Although Wildschut and Lowie agree in the definition of the four major coups recognized by the Crows, Lowie does not make a clear distinc-

ACQUISITION OF WAR MEDICINE BUNDLES

In many cases a young man was allowed to join a party going out for the purpose of capturing horses or raiding enemy camps without his having become the possessor of a medicine. However, he was considered only as a helper. He did servant duty, cut wood and carried extra supplies. He was not permitted to join in any battle and, when close to the enemy, he was told to retreat to a safe distance and there await the outcome of the fight. If a raid was undertaken to steal horses, the members of the party left their horses in care of one or more of these younger men, while the older members went forward to raid the corrals or camp of the enemy.

Several young helpers nearly always accompanied a large war party. It was a form of apprenticeship which most warriors had to serve. During these journeys they were taught the many tricks and stratagems employed by the older members of their tribe.¹⁵

The ambitious young man would not be content for long to take such a minor part and soon insisted on more activity. He knew, however, that to do this he should have a medicine, no matter how small, and this led to his undertaking of a vision quest. If he was not successful in securing a vision he would offer presents to an older and more experienced warrior who possessed a successful bundle, and would ask for the use of a part of his bundle. This might consist merely of a feather taken from that bundle, and a medicine song belonging to it. But to the young man these were considered as much protection as many a complete bundle would have been.¹⁶

No owner of a famous war bundle would consider transferring part or all of it to a warrior of little or no experience. The risk that such an untried warrior might bring disgrace upon his bundle was too great. In extreme cases, where the young man was unable to obtain a medicine song from a successful warrior, he would deliberately borrow a song he had heard during some ceremony,

tion between pipe-holder and camp chief, nor does he emphasize the importance of the war shirt as an insigne of warlike achievement. (Lowie, 1958. pp. 5, 225, 228-229.)

¹⁵ This role of the young apprentice on war expeditions was not peculiar to the Crows. For a similar Blackfoot practice see Ewers (1955b. pp. 190 to 191).

¹⁶ This also was common Blackfoot practice. (Ewers, 1955b. p. 178).

and he would sing this before he entered a conflict or an enemy camp to capture horses.

In some cases an older relative possessing a war bundle transferred it to a younger man for his temporary use. Then at some future time the young man again fasted and attempted to obtain a medicine as a direct gift from the "Without Fires."

TYPES OF WAR MEDICINE BUNDLES

Crow war bundles may be divided into three classes:

1. Those medicine bundles of which copies were made and were known by the chief article they contained. These were always the most powerful and successful ones. Best known among them were the hoop medicine and the arrow medicine.

2. The individual war medicine bundles of which no two were alike.

3. Horse-stealing medicines which, as the name implies, were the bundles used mainly for the purpose of capturing the enemies' horses.

Nos. 2 and 3 are often found together in one bundle, the owner using one or the other as the occasion demanded.

There was a twofold reason for making copies of certain powerful and successful bundles. First, the fact that a bundle brought prosperity and good luck to its owner made Indians who were less fortunate desirous of sharing in the owner's success. Second, some visions instructed the dreamer to make a certain number of copies of the bundle to be distributed among deserving members of the tribe. If the first of these bundles proved successful, these instructions were carried out.

The transfer of copies or parts of war bundles was more common than was the case with any other class of Crow medicine bundle. This reflects the importance of the war bundles as aids in acquiring wealth and distinction. No other type of medicine bundle could contribute more to the prestige of the Indian. He believed that with the help of his war bundle he could capture horses which brought him wealth, and he could become invulnerable in battle, and successful in striking coups which brought him distinction and might lead eventually to the coveted position of pipe-holder or even of chief.

Only in cases where the dreamer had received specific instructions from his visionary spirit to make one or more duplicates of

his bundle was the whole of its contents remade. Only parts of other bundles were transferred. Although further transfers of these parts might be made at later times until finally the whole of the bundle was duplicated.

In transferring a bundle not only was the power and ritual given, but from then on the "medicine father" gave to his "son" the benefits of his dreams. For example, he might say to his "son":

"My son, in my dream last night I saw two enemies being killed close to a certain butte near the mouth of the Yellowstone. Make preparations to go there and count coup upon these enemies. In my dream I saw that the waters in the rivers were swollen. So leave here in late spring and you will find the two enemies whom you will kill at that place."

Then when the time arrived the medicine "son" would arrange with some pipe-holder to lead a party to the designated place, and there his "father's" dream would be realized. In Crow belief such dreamed expeditions never were known to fail.

The individual war medicine bundles and the horse-stealing bundles are so much alike that they must be considered together. As a rule the primary object of the war party setting out for enemy country was to obtain horses. Battles sometimes were fought on these expeditions, not because they were sought but because they could not be avoided. It was practical, therefore, to combine horse-stealing and war power in a single medicine bundle.

Horse-stealing medicines consist most frequently of a peg painted with the sacred red paint, and with one or more horse tracks carved on it in the form of an inverted u design. This indicates the owner's desire to be successful in acquiring some of the enemy's best and fleetest horses which invariably were picketed near their owners' tipis.

A whip, also painted and frequently carved with symbolic horse tracks serves as another horse-stealing medicine. When horses were captured and driven homeward, use of this whip would make it possible for them to outrun any enemy that might follow their trail.

A rope of twisted horsehair of different colors with a small sack of herbs or a quantity of horsehair tied to each end of it indicated the desire to obtain many kinds of horses. The rope often was tied around the neck of a captured horse in the belief that the horse would readily follow the owner of the medicine and

could not be recaptured by the enemy. There was thought to be still less chance of recapture if the horse was given a small pinch of the herb medicine in the small sacks attached to the rope, and which would insure its fleetness and long-windedness.¹⁷

Various kinds of bird feathers are frequently found in these bundles. They are members of the clan which appeared in the bundle owner's vision and they are thought to aid him in flying over the country and easily locating enemy horses. Or they may convey to the captured horses the fleetness of foot equivalent to the movement of birds in flight.

Because these horse-stealing medicines had their origins in dreams and visions, and because they were used on the warpath, I have classified them with the individual war medicine bundles.

Scout medicines, also originating in visions, consist of wolf or coyote skins. However, not all those men selected for scout duty with a war party owned these medicines. If a Crow man who did not have the wolf or coyote for his supernatural helper was chosen as a scout, he borrowed one of these medicines from a man who possessed wolf or coyote power.¹⁸

¹⁷ It is obvious that Wildschut here is not describing common war medicines but medicines associated with the powerful and secret Horse Medicine Cult. Lowie (1924. pp. 329-334) found this to be a "loose association" among the Crows of a stronger organization among the Assiniboin, from whom the Crows acquired the Horse Dance ceremony. The Horse Medicine Cult of the Assiniboin is described in Ewers (1956). A detailed description of the Blackfoot Horse Medicine Cult and data indicating the cult's existence among many other western tribes appears in Ewers (1955b. pp. 257-284).

¹⁸ Lowie (1922. pp. 359-371) recorded numerous Crow informants' accounts of the uses of war medicines.

HOOP MEDICINE BUNDLES

One of the most sacred war medicine bundles among the Crow Indians was the hoop medicine, of which a number of copies were made.

ORIGIN OF THE HOOP MEDICINE BUNDLE

Foolish Man related to me the story of the origin of the hoop medicine in the dream of Blows Down, as follows:

"Blows Down's younger brother was killed in a Sioux surprise attack upon a Crow camp at a time when most of the younger warriors were away. Many women and children were killed in the same action. Shortly thereafter the Crow camp moved to the vicinity of Long Mountain, a peak in the Big Horn Range west of the present town of Sheridan, Wyoming.

"While encamped there one of the chiefs, No Rain, sent his crier around the camp calling upon the young men to go fasting on Long Mountain. This was an unusual action on the part of a chief. It was taken in the hope that some of the fasters might be blessed with a vision and receive a medicine so strong that it would enable the Crows to gain revenge against the Sioux.

"Blows Down, who had sought a vision on several occasions without success, joined the group of vision seekers. All of them took sweat-baths, washed themselves thoroughly, rubbed their bodies with different herbs and finally purified their bodies in the smoke of pine needles before they left camp. After climbing Long Mountain each young man selected a fasting place. Blows Down chose a spot and there built a small platform of stones wide enough and long enough to accomodate his body. He covered the platform with ground cedar. Then he stood facing the sun, pointed his finger at it, and prayed.

"'Father I am offering you a piece of my flesh, and for your sake will I shed my blood. May the 'Without Fires' eat it and drink it. I pray to you, father, that you may favor me with a strong vision. I am poor and humble before you, father. I have sought your help before, but for some reason you gave me no dream. Now,

once more, I pray to you to give me a vision. Let the 'Without Fires' come to me. I have lost a brother and I feel grieved over his loss. I implore your aid. I seek strong medicine so that I can avenge the death of my brother. I place my whole being in your care. Father, do not let me suffer long.'

"Blows Down then placed the index finger of his left hand on a stick, took a knife and chopped off the end of this finger. He held up the piece of severed flesh toward the sun and, with a second short prayer, offered it as a sacrifice. Then he placed it upon an exposed rock nearby. He shed much blood which he sprinkled on the ground as he walked around the rock. Feeling weak and tired, he laid down on his prepared couch and fainted.

"When Blows Down awoke it was early morning and the sun was already far above the horizon. But in spite of the heat of the sun and his covering of a buffalo robe (painted for the occasion with white clay), he felt cold and he shivered. He rose from his couch and began to cry. He prayed and pleaded with the sun and the 'Without Fires' to give him a powerful vision. When he could stand no longer he sat down and offered a smoke to the sun and the earth. Thus the day passed.

"That night, being tired, he slept soundly without the least suggestion of a dream. When he awoke next morning he felt uneasy. He feared that he would fail again in his quest for a vision. Yet he repeated his crying, praying, and smoking throughout the day. As darkness approached he returned to his resting place. During the night he dreamed of different things and awoke several times feeling happier. But still he obtained no dream of power.

"Once again, during the 'darkface period' just before dawn he awoke. He was wide awake and was gazing toward the east when the first faint streaks of dawn began to color the horizon. Then suddenly, in the clouds overhanging the sky, a man appeared. He came nearer and nearer. Finally he appeared to step out of a cloud upon the toes of Blows Down. Yet Blows Down did not feel any weight. The man then stepped down beside his couch. As his feet touched the ground a blaze of fire issued from the points of contact. The earth seemed to be aflame and a column of smoke ascended skyward.

"Then the man spoke. 'My child, arise from your bed of torture. I have come to adopt you as my son.' He grasped Blows Down by the hand and said, 'On you I will bestow my power.'

"Then, apparently from nowhere, he produced a hoop. Holding

it in front of Blows Down he told him to look through it. When Blows Down did so he saw all the enemy tribes just as if they were close to him. The spirit man then told Blows Down that he was the Morning Star, that he had pitied him for a long time, and had finally decided to come to him, adopt him, and give him his medicine. It would become, in time, one of the most powerful medicines among the Crows.

"Morning Star told Blows Down to make a hoop medicine for himself. Furthermore, he might make three copies of this medicine, but no more than four of these hoop medicines should ever be in existence among the Crows. He told Blows Down that whenever any enemy war party approached the camp in which he was staying this medicine would warn him of their coming before their arrival. This medicine would also help Blows Down to see the enemy's location and the strength of their attacking force.

"Finally Morning Star told Blows Down, 'If you will pray to me, your people (the Crows) will increase in numbers. Go home now. Upon your arrival have the members of the camp build you four sweat-lodges, each with the opening facing east toward the rising sun. You enter the last of the four, and while you are inside tell those who are with you of the visit and the instructions which I, the Morning Star, have just given to you.'

"The vision disappeared. Blows Down again fell asleep and did not waken until the sun was high in the heavens. Then he dressed and started on his return journey. Approaching the camp he met some members of the tribe. When they asked him if he had obtained a vision, he replied, 'Build me four sweat-lodges with the openings facing east. Spread sweet-smelling sagebrush inside, and scatter powdered charcoal around the center pit.'"

His friends were happy because they knew that he must have received a powerful vision. When the sweatlodges were prepared, Blows Down entered the fourth one and told of his vision. "Never again will the enemy come upon us by surprise, for I shall know of their coming," he promised.

The happy Crows moved their camp toward the Yellowstone Valley. A few days later Blows Down made his medicine—a hoop made of willow and wrapped with otter skin. This first medicine was rather crudely made but it was said to have possessed extraordinary powers. At night it was suspended from a pole at the rear of the tipi where, it is said, it shone like a star.

Later, when the Crows moved into winter quarters near the

present town of Big Timber, Blows Down, who was unmarried, asked his relatives to make him several pairs of moccasins for he was going on the warpath. He told them that they must keep this information secret. Then he invited about fifteen warriors to join him. Among them were Sits-in-the-Middle-of-the-Earth, Wolf Carrier, Crow Head, and He-Drank-Himself. Blows Down was to be the war party leader, the pipe-holder.

Long before sunrise one morning the party stole out of camp. After six days of travel they reached the Wolf Mountains. Here Blows Down told his men to build him a brush shelter, leaving only an opening at the top. Inside a fire was built. Then he asked one of his men to bring him the dirt from fresh mole holes. It was brought to him on a blanket. Blows Down, seated at the rear of the shelter, emptied the dirt on the ground in front of him. Then he unwrapped his hoop medicine, held it in one hand, and prayed:

"Father, when I fasted there on Long Mountain I gave you a piece of my flesh. You appeared and told me to pray to you when I needed help. I need you now. I want to know what success I shall have."

Then he made a smudge, placed some sweetgrass on the embers, and held the hoop in the ascending smoke. He purified his hands in the smudge, and holding the hoop with both hands, pressed his medicine to his breast. He repeated this four times. Then he dropped the hoop in the mole dirt. Looking into the hoop he saw a vision of many horses, which he knew were those he was about to capture from the enemy. He called his friends to look into the hoop and they also saw the horses. Then, led by Blows Down, all sang a song of joy.

Very early the next morning the scouts started out and they located a Sioux camp. When they brought word of their discovery to Blows Down, he ordered his men to approach the camp and wait until night before attempting to run off the horses of the enemy.

Many horses were captured that night. But the enemy heard the Crows and followed them. Next morning, while crossing the Big Horn, the Crows saw their pursuers in the distance. Once more Blows Down made his medicine, this time to make a storm come between him and his pursuers. Soon the wind started to blow. It increased in fury and a fine snow began to fall. But the storm struck with greatest violence between the fleeing Crows and their Sioux pursuers. The Sioux had to give up the pursuit. Blows

Down and his party reached their home camp safely with over 100 horses.

From that time onward Blows Down's hoop medicine proved successful. He received many requests for copies of his famous medicine. But, strictly adhering to the instructions received in his dream, he never made more than three copies of it."

BULL SHOWS' HOOP MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 12 AND 13

[On October 16, 1923, William Wildschut forwarded to the museum a hoop medicine bundle obtained from Bull Shows. (CAT. NO. 12/3100). The bundle is encased in a rawhide container composed of two circular pieces of rawhide, each 12" in diameter, tied together with rawhide thongs after the wrapped hoop is inserted between them. These rawhide discs are painted in green, yellow and red, the central motive being a large four-pointed star. The case is carried by an otter-skin strap. (Fig. 12).

The hoop itself is wrapped in seven successive pieces of trade cloth. The hoop is $9\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, made of wood but entirely covered by a wrapping of otter skin, hair side out. The upper portion of it is further wrapped with strung blue and white pony beads, the old style embroidering beads among the Crows. Other decorations include brass buttons, and long scalplock and otter skin pendants (the latter having feather plume appendages), a short braid of sweetgrass, and a bone whistle $5\frac{3}{8}$ " in length. (See Fig. 13).—JCE]¹⁹

WHITE SHIRT'S HOOP MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 14

[This hoop medicine, forwarded to the museum by Wildschut on October 22, 1925, in $10\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. (CAT. NO. 14/3609). It is covered with buckskin which is painted a light green. Like the Bull Shows hoop it has a bone whistle ($6\frac{1}{4}$ " long) and a braid of sweetgrass tied to it. The other appendages are different. They include a piece of deerskin with 7 eagle feathers attached to it,

¹⁹ Lowie (1922. p. 420) mentioned a "hoop wrapped with otterskin and decorated with eagle feathers" which was owned by Bull-all-the-Time and was used by him as a war medicine with great success. He may have had reference to this bundle.

a whole winter weasel skin, and thin strips of the same skin, four brass bells and a small buckskin sack containing green paint.

This medicine is contained in an undecorated case of soft-tanned buffalo hide, hair outside—JCE].

ARROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

In his monograph on Crow Indian religion Dr. Lowie has given an interesting account of arrow medicine bundles in general, and has described the bundle owned by Flathead Woman. (Lowie, 1922. pp. 390-401). He related the story of the origin of these bundles as told to him by Hillside. The writer obtained from Plain Feather, who was also the owner of an arrow medicine bundle, an origin account that differs from that given by Hillside.

ORIGIN OF THE ARROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

Plain Feather's account is as follows:

"A long time ago the Crows were camped near the junction of the Rosebud and Yellowstone rivers. In this camp there was a young man, an orphan, named Bear-in-the-Water, later known as Takes-Back-Twice. He was a very poor boy, had no one to care for him, and often felt that life was nothing but misery.

"While the Crows were encamped there, Takes-Back-Twice often turned toward a small peak on the north side of the river. He contemplated fasting there in the hope obtaining a medicine which might help to make his life a happier one. He realized, also, that the time would come shortly when he would have to go on the warpath, and that he needed a sacred helper to aid him in overcoming the many dangers he would encounter there. Takes-Back-Twice finally decided to fast close to that peak which had fascinated him whenever he looked in its direction.

"That evening he took a sweat-bath, and early the next morning he went to the river, washed himself thoroughly, crossed the stream, and walked toward the peak. On his way he made up his mind that he would torture his flesh, hoping thereby to secure the sympathy of some powerful spirit.

"As the sun began to appear above the horizon Takes-Back-Twice arrived at the foot of the butte. In front of him he saw the skull of a buffalo. He stood there for a while, facing the sun, un-

decided what to do. Finally he determined to cut off the end of his index finger. But before doing so he prayed to the sun, saying:

“‘Sun have pity on me, a poor orphan boy. I want a powerful helper who will give me a medicine which will protect me during the remainder of my life. Yet, Sun, if you will but give me a small, real dream and vision I shall be satisfied.’

“Then he placed his index finger on the buffalo skull and cut off the tip of it. As soon as this was done he began to walk around the base of the peak. When evening came he reached his starting point where he had left his covering. Faint from loss of blood and from the exertion of the day, Takes-Back-Twice fell down and finally went to sleep.

“His sufferings were rewarded the first night of his fast. Morning Star appeared to him in the form of a human being. Standing in front of him a short distance from his feet, Morning Star spoke to him:

“‘I have come to console you and to give you the power you asked for. I know your life and pity your circumstances. But all this will change and you will become a leader of war parties. You will own many horses, and you will eventually become one of the wealthiest men of your tribe.’

“Takes-Back-Twice then noticed that the man carried in his hand an arrow. ‘I have brought this arrow,’ the vision said, ‘to give to you. Watch very carefully and see what happens when I throw it.’

“Takes-Back-Twice saw the man throw the arrow toward the east. It looked like a streak of lightning. It looked like a meteor as it fell through the sky, followed by various colored lights. Takes-Back-Twice saw the arrow strike the earth. Then, in his vision, he saw his whole life before him. He saw all the property and the great number of horses he would own. He saw various tipis in which he would live. Among his horses he saw many different colored ones.

“Then the Morning Star told him that he would become a leading chief among the Crows, that he would live to see the white men come to his country in ever-increasing numbers, and that they also would recognize him as a chief. ‘My power,’ said the visitant, ‘has brought you to this spot where my special tipi stands. When you return you must make seven arrows, each one differing in color, and each forming a separate bundle.’

“Morning Star then taught Takes-Back-Twice the ceremony

for opening the bundle, together with the many songs that belonged to it. (Plain Feather remembered only two of these songs: (1), 'Any direction I may go I shall find horses.' (2), 'The medicine arrow has spoken.')

"After he completed his instructions the man gave Takes-Back-Twice the arrow he carried. It is claimed, therefore, that the original arrow medicine bundle contained an arrow received directly from the spirits and not made by man. That arrow was painted red to indicate the wealth the owner would derive through it. The arrow feather signified that the owner would become a leader of war parties. The different colored strands of horsehair attached to it showed that he would possess many horses of different colors.

"The arrow bundle always had to be kept tied to the end of a lodge pole outside the tipi during the day. At sunset it was brought inside and tied to the north pole of the lodge. In the morning it was carried around the right side of the tipi, and at night it was brought in from the left side. All arrow bundles have the taboo that those who live in the owner's tipi must not throw a sharp-pointed implement or weapon inside the tipi. Nor was a menstruating woman permitted in the tipi at night when the bundle was in it.

"Takes-Back-Twice made seven arrow bundles. Each arrow was a different color. He always kept the red one, given to him by his visitant."

The most important points of difference between Hillside's account, as published by Lowie, and the account of Plain Feather, given above, is that Hillside gave the number of bundles made by Takes-Back-Twice as four, while Plain Feather said that seven bundles were made. Hillside said that Takes-Back-Twice was visited by the Seven Stars. Plain Feather called the visitant Morning Star.

There are at present (1925) six arrow medicine bundles among the Crows. The writer, therefore, is inclined to accept Plain Feather's statement as to the number of bundles made. However, the very fact that seven bundles were made would indicate that the supernatural visitant was the Dipper, or Seven Stars, rather than the Morning Star.

ARROWS FROM ARROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

FIGURE 15

[Three arrows contained in three arrow medicine bundles collected by William Wildschut are pictured in Figure 15. The arrow on the left (in bundle CAT. NO. 15/3277), was purchased from Mrs. High Rock Medicine. It is 36'' long overall. The head is a triangular piece of rawhide $4\frac{1}{2}$ '' long, bound to the shaft with sinew wrapping. Both head and shaft are painted black. Two eagle feathers are attached to the shaft with sinew. They are dyed red. Horse hair pendants, also bound to the shaft, are purple.

The arrow in the center (from bundle CAT. NO. 12/6428) was obtained from Fire Bear. It is $31\frac{1}{2}$ '' long. The head of stone is 3'' long. The shaft is painted black and the feathers and horse hair pendants are black, red, green, and yellow.

The arrow on the right (from bundle CAT. NO. 14/6482) was purchased from Two-White-Black-Bird. It measures $30\frac{3}{4}$ '' long. The head is of rawhide $4\frac{1}{4}$ '' long. Both head and shaft are painted red. The feathers are red and the horse hair pendants are red and natural black.—JCE].²⁰

INDIVIDUAL WAR MEDICINE BUNDLES

The war medicine bundles of which no copies were made were both numerous and varied. In the following pages are described a number of these which were collected for the museum and about which important information was obtained in the field.

TWO LEGGINGS' WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 17 AND 18

This bundle was obtained from Two Leggings, Chief of the River Crows in the summer of 1922. (CAT. NO. 14/6481). He said that the bundle was first made by Weasel Moccasin. He transferred it to Wolf Chaser, and elder brother of Two Leggings, who in turn transferred it to Two Leggings at the time the latter started to go to war and before he had acquired a medicine of his own.

²⁰ Lowie (1922, p. 394) learned of five medicine arrows among the Crows—Fire Bear's black one and an imitation of it owned by Bushy Tail; Hillside's red one and a copy of it owned by Old Tail; and a blue one which belonged to Flathead Woman.

The cover of this bundle (Fig. 17) is a top-opening rawhide case 18" wide and 10" high. The painting on one side of it depicts the vision of Weasel Moccasin, in which a black horse was seen standing in the sky. It gave him the medicine represented inside the bundle. While in the sky the horse was struck by lightning, represented by red zigzag lines.

The articles inside the bundle, shown in Fig. 18, were said by Two Leggings to have the following symbolic meanings: (1), A feather necklace was tied around the horse's neck. By its power the horse may feel as light as a feather and therefore be able to run faster and easier. (2), An eagle plume attached to a hawk feather is tied to the horse's tail to help assure the same result. (3), The little bag of herbs is used as a medicine for the horse whenever it becomes weary; a pinch of the herbs is placed inside the horse's mouth and in its nostrils for the purpose of renewing the animal's strength and wind. (4), the bear hair and bear claws fastened around the horse's neck are supposed to be potent in keeping the horse fat and in prime condition, even during an otherwise exhausting ride. (5), The swallow is significant of the power of that bird to fly speedily through a great flock of its kind without touching one; the owner of the medicine ascribes this power to himself and his horse in being able to evade a number of enemies without mishap. (6), The blue cloth represents good luck in general. (7), A strip of otter skin with an eagle claw attached to it is used as a necklace. This necklace was worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The eagle claw is symbolic of the lightning striking the horse and ending in eagle claws, as described in the vision, as well as of the power of the eagle to pounce upon its enemy, a power which is thereby given to the owner of the bundle. (8), A horse's hoof (not shown in the illustration) is thought to impart the power to make easy the capture of enemy horses. (9), The colored ribbons, attached to No. 10, are emblematic of the sky as seen in the vision. (10), When going into battle the owner ties to his chest the eagle's head contained in the bundle and repeats the related songs and prayers. By wearing the eagle in this wise, not only is the flight of the bird symbolized, but the owner absorbs the power of flight, vision and noiseless yet swift approach, to the confusion of the enemy and his horses. (11), An eagle-feather, worn attached to the back of the head, has the same symbolic value as No. 10.

During the ceremony the owner smoked a pipe filled with a

mixture of buffalo chips, sweetgrass, and tobacco, pointed the stem toward the earth, and expressed the wish that he wanted to be on earth a little longer if only for the purpose of taking revenge on the enemy. After expressing his desire the stem was pointed in the direction of the enemy while the owner said, "Their hearts are weak and we will catch them easily."

Two Leggings understood that this medicine was given to Weasel Moccasin by the Thunderbird, represented in the lightning ending in eagle claws painted on the cover of the bundle. (Fig. 17). Inside the bundle, the Thunderbird is represented by the eagle head, claws and feathers.²¹

FAT'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 19 AND 20

This bundle (CAT. NO. 11/8293) also was obtained from Two Leggings, who told me that this medicine was given to Fat in a vision by the Evening Star. From Fat it passed to Buffalo Plume, then to Fire Heart, Medicine Bear, and finally to Two Leggings.

The paintings on the cylindrical rawhide case recall the time of night when the vision was seen. The moon (painted red) is about a quarter of its full size. It stands in a clear sky surrounded by sharp-pointed, fleecy clouds (faintly colored in yellow, blue and green) represented by the triangles above and below the crescent moon. (Fig. 19).

The Evening Star is represented inside the bundle by the German silver disc fastened to the eagle feather. (Center of Fig. 20). This disc is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The small incisions around its edge indicate the unknown shape of this star, which no man can clearly define. Two triangles incised on the disc are symbolic representations of the star's rays. Ceremonial accessories in the bundle include feathers of owl, duck and eagle, an eagle head, and a braid of sweetgrass. The piece of orange cotton cloth in which these articles are wrapped appears as the background. This medicine was believed to make the owner invulnerable.²²

²¹ This bundle was first described in a brief article in *Indian Notes*. (Wildschut, 1926c. pp. 284-288).

²² Lowie (1922. p. 421) mentioned a "brass full-moon" which served Old Crow as a war medicine.

BIG SHOULDER'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 21

Another interesting war medicine, obtained during the year 1923, originally belonged to Big Shoulder, one of the camp chiefs of the Mountain Crows and a well-known warrior. (CAT. NO. 12/6421). During the time Plenty Coups was still an ambitious warrior Big Shoulder was often his companion. From Plenty Coups the writer obtained the following information regarding this bundle:

A Crow war party discovered a Sioux camp near the present location of Forsyth, Montana. From this camp the Crows captured about 100 horses, but they were discovered by the enemy and pursued. In the battle that followed two Crows were killed. They were Chicken Feet and White-Spot-on-the-Neck, the brother and brother-in-law of Big Shoulder.

The Crows were camped on the Yellowstone near the site of Huntley when the returning war party reported the death of these young men, Big Shoulder then went out on the prairie, and choosing a place called Bear Home, a sharp rimrock about five miles north of present Billings, began to fast. Here he stayed for about five days before he received a vision.

Below him in the ground he saw the home of the buffalo. Some of the animals emerged from their underground home and came to him. They invited him to accompany them to their tipi. Big Shoulder followed, and upon entering the tipi found that it changed into an Indian lodge, and the buffalo changed into humans. Big Shoulder was given a seat and he saw that the buffalo beings were playing a game of shinny. Whenever one of the players hit the ball a streak of light seemed to follow its course. He instinctively knew that these lights represented stars. The balls seemed to be hit beyond the horizon and, whenever one disappeared, horses and other property desirable to the Indians seemed to appear. The game lasted a long time. When it was finished one of the buffalo gave Big Shoulder a buffalo horn headdress to be worn as a protection in battle. Another buffalo gave him the medicine represented in this bundle.

The painted stick (Fig. 21) symbolizes a shinny stick, finished at the end with a crude carving intended to represent a buffalo head. The stick is $17\frac{3}{4}$ " long. The forepart is painted red to symbolize blood or revenge, and the remainder of the shaft green, signifying the earth. Six brass bells attached to the pendant re-

present the stars in general. The pendant eagle feather is a symbol of the owner's body. When the medicine is used on the warpath this feather is detached and worn in the hair. The red-painted feather (below the eagle feather) represents fire. The otter skin attached to the handle is intended to assist the bundle owner in obtaining good dreams.

Different bird feathers in the bundle (not illustrated) represent various patrons seen in the owner's vision and which were thought to give protection to him when on the warpath. Seven hawk feathers and a strip of horsehair were included in the bundle to help the owner obtain many horses and to increase his own herd.

Formerly buckskin balls were attached to the outside of the rawhide case, representing the shinny balls as seen in the vision. Eagle feathers attached to these balls were thought to possess the power, given by the eagle, to protect horse and rider. When asked for the loan of this medicine, Big Shoulder would detach these buckskin balls and let them be taken on the warpath while he kept the bundle at home.

LONG OTTER'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 22

As a young man Long Otter had a vision in which the Morning Star appeared to him in human form and gave him medicine power. This is represented by the bundle which was obtained from Max Big Man, who had inherited it from his mother, Swan Face, on April 14, 1921. (CAT. NO. 11/5068).

This sacred medicine is contained in a cylindrical rawhide case, and wrapped in a piece of blue flannel and three layers of cotton cloth. It consists of a wooden hoop 7" in diameter and completely wrapped with rawhide which is painted in alternate yellow and blue segments. The hoop originally had a sinew netting, which in more recent years was replaced with a netting of commercial thread. Eagle feathers are tied to the top and sides of this hoop.

On one side of the hoop is tied a cut rawhide figure of a man 7½" high. The head and legs of the man are in profile while the upper body is twisted to show both shoulders and both arms. The back of the head of this figure is painted red, face and shoulders are yellow, and the remainder is blue. This figure represents the Morning Star as seen in human form in Long Otter's vision. The colors were those worn by Morning Star at that time and they

were used by Long Otter to paint his face and body before meeting the enemy.

Long Otter was very successful whenever he took this medicine with him on the warpath. It soon became known among the Crows as a powerful war medicine.

IRON FORKS' WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 23

A war medicine bundle which originated in a vision of Iron Forks was obtained in 1927. (CAT. NO. 15/3378). Old Coyote supplied information regarding the origin of this bundle.

Iron Forks was a poor young man. He was so ashamed of his poverty that he seldom came into camp until after dark. Once when the Crows were camped along the banks of the Missouri, Iron Forks took a bath in the river. He noticed in midstream and not far from the camp a large driftwood tree. He felt particularly miserable that day, and this tree somehow attracted him. He decided to swim out to it and to use it as a fasting place. After the necessary preparations, he swam to the tree and laid down on this uncomfortable couch, fasting and praying to the "Without Fires," imploring their aid in seeking a powerful medicine. His fasting place could easily be seen from the village. The Crows on shore told each other that Iron Forks was very foolish to fast in such a dangerous place. He would surely be devoured by the underwater monsters.

However, Iron Forks stayed in his chosen place for two days and two nights. At dawn of the second day he received a vision of a human being coming toward him, walking on the water. When the man approached the driftwood he spoke: "They have sent me to come for you."

Iron Forks arose from his couch and followed the man. He found that he also could walk on the water. They walked upstream until they came opposite a black, shaley bank. There the person who had come to fetch Iron Forks gradually sank into the water and disappeared. Iron Forks followed. The man led him to the bottom of the river and there entered a tipi. Sitting at the rear of this tipi Iron Forks saw another man. The one who had guided Iron Forks spoke to that man: "This is the person who called for you."

The man in the rear of the tipi was the chief of all the under-

water monsters. He pointed to an otter skin coat which he held in his hand and told Iron Forks: "This is your coat." By this he meant that this coat would be Iron Forks' medicine because the otter belonged to the same clan as the underwater monster, and was his servant.

The chief then pointed to the poles of his tipi and Iron Forks saw many halters and elk tooth dresses hanging from them, indicating that with the aid of his medicine he would be able to acquire many horses and other valuable property. Again the chief spoke to Iron Forks: "You have had no food for a long time. I shall give you something to eat."

He handed Iron Forks a buffalo horn spoon on which he placed a small pinch of pemmican and urged the Indian to eat it. This Iron Forks did. To his surprise he found that the small quantity of food in the spoon did not diminish, no matter how much of it he ate. The chief of the underwater monsters then told Iron Forks that he was the only person he had ever adopted. He pitied Iron Forks and admired his courage in his choice of a fasting place.

When Iron Forks awoke he found himself still lying on the driftwood. He began to swim back to camp only to find that, although the water was deep, he could walk through it and never submerged below his waist. During his fast his legs had been partly under water. When he arrived in camp they were swollen. For four days after his return Iron Forks could not eat. In addition, the smell of human beings nauseated him. Finally, he found a small plant which grows by the water. He boiled it, drank the water, and was entirely cured.

The underwater monster became Iron Forks' medicine, while the otter and the little plant which grows in the water were also included in it, because they were servants of the underwater monster. Iron Forks made for his medicine an otter skin coat and a miniature image of the underwater monster. The very first time he went on a war expedition wearing his medicine he was successful in obtaining twenty horses. After that he always possessed all kinds of property. Whenever he obtained horses through the power of his medicine he always did some successful trading and thus acquired the finest herd of horses among the Crows.

Iron Forks refused to part with his otter skin coat. However, the miniature image of the underwater monster was obtained for the museum collections. It is of stuffed buckskin 7" long, painted black on yellow. Its eyes are black trade beads and a red-dyed

plume is tied to it. A suspension cord of twisted rawhide, painted red, passes around the middle of this long-tailed, four-legged representation of the mythical underwater monster.

BIG FOREHEAD'S WAR MEDICINE BONNET

FIGURES 24, AND 25

A war medicine bundle which formerly belonged to Big Forehead was obtained from Old Coyote in 1923. (CAT. NO. 12/6429). Old Coyote furnished an account of the origin of this bundle.

When Big Forehead was a boy he was very poor and miserable. As a young man he accompanied a war party as a helper. The party traveled on foot and each member carried a package containing meat and some extra moccasins on his back. It was cold and there was snow on the ground. After walking most of the day the party halted for a short rest. Big Forehead was tired. He threw himself down on his back, forgetting that he still carried his pack. As he did so he uttered a scream and fainted. His companions came to his assistance and found that the knife, which he carried in his pack, had entered his back when he struck the ground. Before long Big Forehead's friends realized that the boy was bleeding to death. So they wrapped him in a couple of robes, placed him under a rocky shelf, and after he was pronounced dead, they left him.

During the night some wolves found Big Forehead and they brought him back to life. When he awoke a large wolf was standing by his side licking his face. Other wolves covered his body to keep him warm. Big Forehead sat up. The wolves surrounding him then began to talk to him as if they were human beings.

Then these wolves bestowed upon him their different powers. The big wolf gave him the power of transforming himself into a wolf. Big Forehead used this power on the warpath, especially when he was caught in dangerous places. Another wolf gave him the power of doctoring the wounded. This gift Big Forehead also employed successfully on many occasions. A third wolf gave him the power to set broken bones and heal them instantly.

One of the wolves then transformed himself into a human being. He rode a horse and wore a headdress. Around his body and that of the horse were wolf skin belts. Big Forehead saw this wolf-person ride into battle. Many young men came forward and shot at him. But the bullets fell away from his body without hurting him. This wolf then returned to Big Forehead and told him to

make a medicine like the one he and his horse were wearing. It would make him immune to battle wounds.

Still a fifth wolf transformed himself into a person. He carried a gun and shot it without having loaded it. This power he gave to Big Forehead also. And, finally, a sixth wolf came to Big Forehead and gave him power to cure the sick.

The wolves then guided Big Forehead safely back to his camp. His wound was entirely healed. Eventually Big Forehead became a famous medicine man among the Crows. He cured both the sick and the wounded. He also became a renowned warrior. But he never was known to have received a wound himself. When he went into battle he wore the medicine objects appearing in this bundle.

This bundle was originally wrapped in two covers, but the container for the medicine bonnet was lost in recent times. It was of buffalo hide painted to represent the heavens and the earth.

Two views of this bonnet are shown in Fig. 24. The basic material of the cap and trailer is deerskin. A pair of yellow-painted antelope horns are tied to the headpiece. Old Coyote, nephew of Big Forehead, explained that these materials were used because both deer and antelope are swift-running animals. That attribute of swiftness would be transferred to both horse and rider. The upright plume atop this bonnet represents fire, which is destructive of everything it touches. It has the power to destroy any evil aimed at the wearer before it can reach him. Grouse wings and feathers on the cap and trailer are thought to have the power to fan away all bullets and arrows aimed at the wearer. Spots on the feathers, when fanned by the wind, are thought to make the wearer appear to the enemy as a shimmering mirage, impossible to hit. Bells attached to the bonnet just below the antelope horns ring whenever the wearer moves, reminding him that he must be brave at all times. The two bells on the front of this bonnet represent eyes. The four bells, symbolize the four seasons of the year. The red flannel brow band symbolizes the red clouds of sunset. The white seed beads on this band are the day clouds, and the yellow paint on the under side of the deerskin, dust clouds. All these are thought to prevent the enemy from seeing the wearer.

To this bonnet is fastened a hairlock attachment with an old bullet and a miniature shield attached. This ornament was sometimes detached and worn separately or loaned to another member of the bonnet-wearer's war party. It was thought to possess the power to make its wearer invulnerable.

A secondary bundle of rawhide contains a whistle made from the leg bone of a wolf. (Fig. 25). It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ " long and attached to it is a suspension cord of twisted buckskin, painted yellow. Also in this bundle is a wolf skin belt to be worn around the neck of the owner's horse and another belt of the same material to be worn by the owner himself. These magical protective devices were mentioned in the story of the origin of this complex war medicine bundle.

BUFFALO BULL'S WAR MEDICINE SHIRT

FIGURE 26

A bundle containing a very powerful war medicine was obtained from Daylight on May 25, 1921. Daylight inherited it from his brother-in-law, Pipe-That-Shows, upon the latter's death many years earlier. Pipe-That-Shows had inherited this bundle from a very old man, Buffalo Bull, who was its original owner. (CAT. NO. II/6486).

The story of this bundle was related as follows:

When Buffalo Bull was a young man he went to the top of a high mountain in quest of a vision. He fasted there for four days and nights. Near dawn of the last day he had a vision in which he saw a band of enemies approaching. In front of them a lone warrior rode on horseback taunting the party of enemies. They all shot at him, but no arrow or bullet struck this lone warrior. He was singing a song which Buffalo Bull tried to memorize. It seemed to Buffalo Bull that the enemies of this warrior were aware of his presence but could not see him.

Buffalo Bull saw that this man was wearing a shirt painted dark blue and that he carried suspended from his shoulder an eagle plume. On his head he wore a feather and from the forelock of his horse hung a bunch of eagle feathers.

The lone rider approached Buffalo Bull and spoke to him: "You have seen how I rode in front of the enemy, passed close to them, and how they all shot at me but missed. You also heard the songs I was singing. If you want to be safe from enemy arrows and bullets you must make a shirt like the one I am wearing and paint it in the same manner. You must wear feathers on your head as I do, and you must attach feathers to your horse's forelock. If you wear these things in battle and sing the songs I have taught you, you will never be shot, because you will be invisible to the enemy."

After his return to camp, Buffalo Bull made the medicine shirt

and gathered the feathers contained in this bundle. He wore them on many occasions. Although one of the bravest of the Crow warriors, Buffalo Bull was never hurt in battle. Therefore, his medicine was always regarded as very powerful.

This medicine shirt (Fig. 26) and feather ornaments are contained in a cylindrical, rawhide case which is painted in geometric designs. The shirt is a short one (center height only $14\frac{1}{2}$ "), and it is painted dark blue, with two stripes on each sleeve indicating coups counted in battle, and purple neck flaps, sleeve and body borders. The v-shaped neck flaps are fringed, as are the sleeves, sides, and bottom of the shirt. The beaded decorations on the neck flaps, over the shoulders, at bottom of sleeves and body of this shirt are in dark blue, light blue, lavender, yellow and white seed beads.^{22a}

SEES-THE-LIVING-BULL'S MOCCASIN BUNDLE

FIGURES 27 AND 28

An unusual war medicine bundle was purchased from Gray Bull, its last Indian owner, in 1926. (CAT. NO. 14/6472). Information regarding the origin and history of this bundle was recorded when this bundle was first shown to the writer by Gray Bull in October, 1921. Additional data were furnished by Two Leggings, the adopted son of the original owner of this bundle.

The originator of this bundle was Sees-the-Living-Bull, one of the most famous medicine men of the River Crows, who died in 1896 at the approximate age of 98 years. He had fasted on four occasions for periods of four days each. Each time he selected as his fasting-place the top of a high mountain in the Bear Tooth Range, south of present Red Lodge, Montana.

At the time of his last fast, toward morning of the fifty day, Sees-the-Living-Bull was rewarded with a vision in which he saw the Morning Star change gradually into a person who stood on the edge of the horizon. In a little while this person started to walk toward Sees-the-Living-Bull, and after every step a fire appeared in his footprint. Closer and closer he came until he stood next to the dreamer. Then he spoke: "I have come carrying a message from Bird-Going-Up. He is coming to see you."

Sees-the-Living-Bull noticed that the person wore peculiar

^{22a} The use of seed beads in the decoration of this shirt suggests that this specimen is not as old as the field data suggest, or that it was re-beaded since *ca.* 1870.

moccasins. On his left foot was one which had fastened to the top of it the skin taken from the head of a silver fox; on the right foot the corresponding part was made from the head of a coyote. The ears of both animals were left on the skins, and around the outer edge of each moccasin sole was fastened a number of scalp locks with quill wrapping. The heel of the right moccasin was painted black and that of the left one red.

Suddenly Sees-the-Living-Bull heard a little coyote howling, and on looking around found that the sound issued from the coyote on the man's moccasin. Then he heard a fox barking, and noticed that the noise came from the other moccasin, and as he watched the fox's head bark, flames shot from its mouth. The man standing next to Sees-the-Living-Bull wore a beautiful scalp lock shirt, and his deerskin leggings were fringed with horsehair "scalp locks" of many colors. On his face was painted a broad red circle intersected by two smaller ones of like color.

The visionary man began to sing, and he gave Sees-the-Living-Bull the seven songs belonging to the bundle. They are:

1. The bird is saying this, and wherever we are, nothing may be in our way.
2. The bird is gone. I will let him come and watch over you,
3. I am letting him stay, I am letting him stay. (The words of this song were interpreted to mean that the owner of this bundle would live to be an old man).
4. I am going toward human beings, and they are weak,
5. The bird from heaven has sympathy toward him.
6. Wherever I am going, I say this, I am the bird in this world,
7. My child, I am living among the clouds and there is nothing impossible to me.

After Sees-the-Living-Bull had learned the songs, he was told never to go on the warpath in a westerly direction, as it would result in bad luck. In accordance with this admonition he never went toward the Flathead, Shoshone, or the Arapaho.

These instructions received, Sees-the-Living-Bull suddenly felt a strong wind rising. It caught his blanket and blew it away. He looked after it, and when he again turned his head the vision had vanished. He was now wide awake, the sun was shining high in the sky, and he returned to his village.

Soon afterward, Sees-the-Living-Bull made the medicine represented in the bundle, which was always kept outside the tipi, except when taken inside for ceremonial purposes. Then it must be carried around the left side and out again by the right. The

bundle proved especially potent in locating the enemy and in protecting the owner from injury when on the warpath. During a ceremony Sees-the-Living-Bull always wore the moccasins after first smudging them in the smoke of pine needles.

Figs. 27 and 28 show the outer and inner side views of the left moccasin, which measures $10\frac{3}{4}$ " long. Underneath the silver fox head covering, the moccasin is of the basic one-piece, soft-soled pattern with the seam around the outside of the foot and up the back of the heel. The scalp locks are sewn to this seam and are wrapped in yellow porcupine quills.²³

In addition to the pair of moccasins, this bundle contains four small cloth packets. One of these holds black paint. The others appear to contain vegetal substances. The bundle contents are held in a boat-shaped, rawhide case which is painted on one side only in red, green and black geometric designs.²⁴

NO TEARS' WOLF SKIN WAR MEDICINE

NOT ILLUSTRATED

This bundle was obtained from Daylight in 1922. He had inherited it from his father who, in turn, had inherited it from the original owner, No Tears, also known as Stepson-of-Being-a-Medicine-Man. (CAT. NO. 11/6484).

This bundle had its origin in a vision obtained by No Tears. In this vision he saw a jack rabbit, changed into a man, coming toward him. He did not realize at first that this jack rabbit was giving him a medicine. But when the rabbit came closer he noticed that it wore across its shoulders the skin of a wolf.

The wolf skin was fastened with the head resting across the left shoulder of the wearer and was tied with a buckskin thong under his right arm. No Tears noticed how the tip of the head of the wolf was painted red and seemed to glare in the sunlight. The wolf skin was painted with yellow stripes, and to the center of the skin was fastened a bunch of grouse feathers with the tail of a jack rabbit on top of it.

As the jack rabbit-man approached he sang a song. Then he

²³ The basic moccasin pattern is that of the older style Crow moccasin which preceded the hard-soled moccasin. It was first described by François Larocque in 1805. (Wildschut and Ewers. 1959. p. 21).

²⁴ This bundle was previously described in *Indian Notes*. (Wildschut, 1926b. pp. 201-205).

howled like a wolf. He sang another song and again finished with a wolf howl. The words of both songs were the same, although the tunes were different. The words were: "The enemies are near. They commence shooting."

The jack rabbit-man stood in front of No Tears and told him that if he would follow his instructions he need have no fear of his enemies for they would be powerless to kill him. No Tears would become one of the leading warriors of his tribe. "When going on the warpath," he said, "always ride a gray horse and fasten to its forelock a bunch of eagle feathers. Kill a large wolf and paint the skin like the one I am wearing. The tip of the wolf's nose and head must be painted a bright red. This red will glare in the faces of the enemies so that they cannot see the wearer. Fasten the tail of a jack rabbit to the back of the wolf skin. This is the most important part of the medicine, for it will represent me as the giver of this power. Use only the back of the wolf skin and fasten under the jack rabbit tail a bunch of grouse feathers.²⁵

"When in sight of the enemy you must mount your horse and ride out alone to meet the enemy. But do not look them straight in the face. As you ride toward them sing the medicine songs you heard me sing, and end your songs with the howl of a wolf. If you truly follow these instructions, the enemy will never be able to kill you."

²⁵ The wolf skin in this bundle comprises only the center portion of the skin. It is but 8" wide.

SHIELDS

THE impression has often been given that shields were employed as physical protection against the arrows and bullets of the enemy. This is erroneous. Crow Indian shields were essentially war medicines, gifted with supernatural powers to protect their owners. I have never heard of a Crow shield which was not reputed to have originated in a vision. Nor have I heard of a shield, plain or painted, which was not regarded as a medicine.

Thick rawhide shields were made from the ventral-thoracic part of the buffalo. The hide was stretched tightly over a hole in the earth and pegged down. A slow fire was placed underneath the hide and stones were put on top of it to give it the necessary bulge. When the hide began to shrink, the pegs were moved until the desired thickness and firmness were obtained. The edges containing the peg holes were then trimmed off.

In some cases shields were cut from another and thinner part of the buffalo hide. Sometimes the faster received a vision of more than one shield, and the second and third ones were made of the thinner hide. Red Woodpecker is said to have obtained as many as seven shields in a single vision.

Although some shields were decorated on the rawhide base itself, the majority had the visionary design painted on its buckskin cover. This, in turn, was generally covered with another covering of plain buckskin. Other objects fastened to the shield indicated the particular supernatural visitant responsible for the medicine of the shield.

Shields were used in case the camp was attacked. However, they were seldom taken on the warpath in the active days of my informants. They were too cumbersome and heavy, and they hampered the movements of the warriors in close battle. Two Leggings said that on one occasion he did take a shield on the warpath. When he returned the skin on his left arm and shoulder were chafed raw by the continual rubbing of the heavy shield, caused by the jogging of his trotting horse. On later war expeditions he took the cover of his shield. When he approached the enemy he fastened it around his neck, blanket fashion.

Chief Plenty Coups owned a shield for many years. But he said that he never took it on the warpath. He detached the feather decoration from the shield and wore it as a hairlock attachment, believing it gave him the same protection he would have received from the shield itself.²⁶

The owners of shields frequently made miniature reproductions of the originals. These miniature shields, about six inches in diameter, were worn around the neck suspended from a buckskin thong, or they were fastened to the warrior's hair.

My informants unanimously agreed that if a shield was taken on the warpath it was carried by the owner. No man would consider surrendering his medicine or weapons to a helper or other member of the war party. The ever-present risk of ambush or sudden attack made the danger of being caught unawares and unarmed too great.²⁷

In parades through the camp and on special festive occasions, the wife of the owner always carried her husband's shield suspended from the saddle on the left side of her horse.²⁸

In the visions through which most Crow shields were acquired, the shields were seen in the sky, far removed from the earth. This accounts for the common taboo that a shield must not touch the ground. However, I was told of a vision in which the shield appeared to the faster coming toward him rolling on edge, from hill-

²⁶ In his biography of Chief Plenty Coups, Frank Bird Linderman tells the story of that leader's view of the sun on a foggy day, in which the sun appeared to resemble his own shield with two scalps attached to it. This was an augury of his success in taking two enemy scalps soon thereafter. (Linderman, 1930. p. 83).

²⁷ Lowie claimed that on the warpath a young helper might carry a warrior's shield until the party was in sight of the enemy. (Lowie, 1922. p. 403). It seems most probable that shields were much more commonly carried on war expeditions in first half of the 19th century and earlier than they were in the young manhood of Wildschut's and Lowie's informants *i.e.* post 1860's). In 1862 Morgan learned that the Crow Indians no longer made much use of shields because they offered little protection against musket balls. (Morgan, 1959. p. 191).

²⁸ In this description of a Crow camp on the march more than a century ago Denig wrote: "When traveling, the women carry to the horn of the saddle the warrior's medicine bag and shield." (Denig, 1953. p. 36). Pretty Shield, second wife of Goes Ahead, felt honored that she was permitted to ride his warhorse and to carry his shield. (Linderman, 1932. p. 131). It was the shield-carrier who placed the shield on the wooden tripod in front of the owner's tipi. The shield then always faced east so that it would catch the first rays of the rising sun each morning. (Marquis, 1918. pp. 150-151).

top to hill-top, until it rested on edge on the ground in front of the dreamer. No taboo against this shield's touching the ground existed.

Shields were commonly inherited from father to son. Sometimes, however, the widow of the deceased claimed ownership and retained this medicine which once belonged to her husband. I purchased shields from four different women whose deceased husbands had formerly owned these medicines.

HUMP'S SHIELD

FIGURE 29

The originator of this shield was a Crow named Hump. Before his death he transferred it to Two Face, who transferred it in later years to Crazy Head. After Crazy Head's death it was inherited by his son, who bore the same name. And upon the death of the second Crazy Head, in 1907, the shield came into the possession of Knows-his-Coups, from whom it was purchased for the museum in 1923. (CAT. NO. 11/7678).

Hump saw this shield in a dream while he was on the warpath to the Sioux. He was caught in a blizzard and sought shelter within the carcass of a buffalo. While thus protected he went to sleep and had a dream in which the buffalo appeared to him and gave him the shield. The full description of Hump's dream was unknown to Knows-his-Coups, but he gave the following interpretation of the paintings on the rawhide base:

The green border on the left side of this shield represents the summer season, the time for war parties. The dark brown crooked lines ending in knobs are representations of bullets or arrows glancing off the shield. The owl feathers tied to the center of the shield symbolize the sacred vision of this bird at night, transferred to the owner of the shield. The eagle feathers represent the same for the day time.

The dark brown buffalo represents the carcass of the animal in which Hump had his vision. The urinating represents the making of war paint without water, to which expedient the Indian individually resorted in case he met the enemy where no water was obtainable.

Two taboos were associated with this shield. A child must not walk or crawl under the tripod from which this shield was suspended in the daytime. At sunset the shield was taken inside the tipi

and fastened to the rear tipi pole. The second taboo stipulated than when the shield was in this position no one might pass in front of it or between it and the center of the tipi.

This painted rawhide shield is 22" in diameter and approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The shield cover is of buckskin and is unpainted.³⁰

RED WOODPECKER'S SHIELD

FIGURE 30

This shield was originated by a Crow named Red Woodpecker, who once fasted at a place called by the name "rimrock-has-no-road," a few miles north of present Billings, Montana.

During this fast Red Woodpecker received a vision in which a kingfisher appeared to him; but not being satisfied with this vision, he later fasted on one of the buttes at the southern entrance to Pryor Gap. During this fast he heard a voice saying, "That loud-voiced chicken hawk is calling you."

When he heard this, Red Woodpecker realized that he must return to his first fasting place at "rimrock-has-no-road." This he did, fasting a third time. In the vision which appeared during this fast he saw a bird which appeared to be caught in a hole. He went to the bird, seized it, and found it to be a spotted swallow. Greatly disappointed, he decided to return home. But again a voice spoke, "Do not go. Shaking Bird wants to visit you."

Red Woodpecker decided to remain. He fasted four days and nights. Then he began to feel very weak. At daybreak of the fifth day it began to rain. Soon afterward he saw a chicken hawk flying above him, presently followed by more of its kind until at last a great many appeared, making much noise with their wings. Suddenly a severe storm arose, and when it was about half spent,

³⁰ In 1910 Dr. Lowie purchased from Yellow Brow a shield which was claimed to have originated in a vision of one, Humped Wolf, under conditions identical to those described for the origin of this shield. Lowie described its history in extensive detail and claimed to have pictured it in Fig. 3 of *The Religion of the Crow Indians*. (Lowie, 1922. pp. 408-418). However, that figure shows no buffalo symbolism in the shield painting. Rather Fig. 6 of that monograph illustrates a shield which bears a remarkable resemblance to the one Wildschut collected, shown in Fig. 29 of this paper, especially in the style of painting of the urinating buffalo. It seems most probable that Lowie's Humped Wolf and Wildschut's Hump were the same man and that either the shield collected by Lowie or the one purchased by Wildschut is a duplicate of the original.

a rider appeared in the distance. The man rode a calico horse with a white spot on its neck, and carried a shield on his back. An eagle wing feather was attached to the tail of the horse and to its forelock was tied a wing-feather of a chicken hawk. Fastened to his now the rider wore an eagle-bone whistle with four feathers attached to it. The man's face was painted with white clay on both sides, but the central part was free of paint. As the rider came closer he sang a medicine song and finally stopped a short distance away. The words of his song were; "They are singing among the pine trees."

After thus singing the man made a noise like a chicken hawk. Red Woodpecker plainly saw his shield, on which were painted designs representing clouds and lightning. A few large drops of rain fell after the song was finished, and the man in whom Red Woodpecker recognized a chicken hawk personified, said to him, "Shaking Bird is coming to see you." He then turned and rode away.

Another person then appeared, also riding a brown horse. Red Woodpecker recognized that this person was Shaking Bird. On the side of his horse's neck was painted a white spot, on which in turn was painted a circle surrounded with dark fringes representing the nest of a chicken hawk, and with dirt around the nest. Shaking Bird spoke to Red Woodpecker, saying, "If you paint this design on your horse, it will never be shot."

To the horse's foretop were fastened three or four large grass blades, and a single feather from the wing of a chicken hawk was tied to the horse's tail. In his hand Shaking Bird carried a long stick painted with white clay, and fastened to his hair were two eagle bone whistles with a chicken hawk wing-feather tied to each. On his left arm he carried a painted shield. The top and the lower third of the shield were painted a dark color, representing clouds and rain storms, but the area between these painted spaces, excepting the figure of a bird with outspread wings, was plain, indicating a clear day. At the end of each wing of the bird was fastened a cluster of chicken hawk feathers, together with an eagle bone whistle.

Suddenly this shield disappeared, and in its place Red Woodpecker was shown a third one, through the middle of which a blue stripe was painted, while the lower part was embellished with a series of black perpendicular stripes. In the upper left quadrant of the shield was a crescent moon, and beneath it a cluster of three feathers; and a similar cluster was fastened to the upper right quadrant of the shield.

This third shield vanished, to be followed by a fourth, painted as follows: In the upper left-hand corner a half-moon; black perpendicular lines, symbolized clouds, occupied the upper third; in the center were zigzag lines representing lightning and below these were perpendicular lines to indicate rain. This is the shield illustrated in Fig. 30, from the specimen in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation collections. (CAT. NO. 11/7679). The hawk attached to the center of this shield was used as a war medicine, which in time of need was detached and tied to the hair of the owner. The bundle of hawk feathers on each side symbolized the hawk which appeared to Red Woodpecker in his vision. Around the edges of the shield were fastened cut feathers, tied in pairs, the meaning of which could not be learned.

Three more shields were shown to Red Woodpecker in this vision, the designs of which corresponded with the second, third, and fourth shields mentioned. The entire seven shields were reproduced by him from his dream. Three of them were made from heavy buffalo hide and the remainder from lighter areas. These four were often taken on the warpath, but the other three were used exclusively for home protection, only the attached insignia and the painted covers being taken to war. The designs of the lighter shields were all painted on the rawhide; while the heavier shields were wrapped in painted covers.

Red Woodpecker kept the first shield he made for himself. He transferred the others to various members of the tribe. Red Woodpecker's shield was burned with all of his belongings, after which he and all his family became ill and soon after died. The second and third shields were captured by the Piegans. The fourth was obtained from Mrs. Sits-in-the-Middle, who had inherited it from her husband, in 1923.²⁹

YELLOW BROW'S SHIELD

FIGURE 31

This shield was purchased from Pups in 1923. Pups had inherited it from Yellow Brow and he again had inherited it from another Indian whose name Pups did not recall. No information could be secured about the vision origin of this shield. (CAT.

²⁹ A description of this shield was previously published in *Indian Notes*. (Wildschut. 1925c. pp. 315-320).

NO. 11/7681). However, the following interpretation was given of the paintings on the inner cover:

The triangular black painting at the top of this cover represents clouds; the long, forked, red lines symbolize rain. The crooked black lines ending in knobs (below the center of the cover) typify bullets glancing from the shield. The eighteen blue-black lines (bottom center) with the longer center one ending in a small circle and crossed with six smaller lines represent pine trees on the distant mountains. The owl fastened to the center of the cover is the war medicine part of the bundle. The original owner fastened it to his hair when he was about to engage in battle. Invariably the attachment to the Crow shield indicates the visitant responsible for the medicine, so we may assume that this visitant was the owl.

This painted buckskin inner cover is $21\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The outer cover, also of buckskin, is not painted. The rawhide shield base, $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, is not decorated.

ROTTEN BELLY'S SHIELD

FRONTISPIECE AND FIGURE 32

I believe this is the finest Crow shield I have seen. It is one of the oldest specimens of its kind. This shield was obtained from Mrs. Bull Tongue prior to March 1923. She inherited it from her husband who died in 1921. (CAT. NO. 11/7680).

According to the owner's information and traditions related by others, this shield was once the property of Rotten Belly (*Arapoosh*), a chief among the Crows. The painting on the shield is said to represent the moon, who appeared to Rotten Belly in a vision, and gave him this shield. This shield has been handed down for many generations, but no further information about it could be obtained.

[The Shield of Rotten Belly, head chief of the River Crows prior to his death in battle in 1834, is undoubtedly the most famous of all Crow Indian war medicines. Dr. Lowie was told by Grandmother's Knife that the "picture on this shield was that of a man in black with his ears disproportionately large" and that it "was noted for its medicine power and was in constant use until reservation times." Lowie added, "It ought to be at Pryor." (Lowie, 1922. p. 407-408). Apparently Wildschut followed Lowie's lead and was successful in purchasing this famous medicine.

Edward S. Curtis claimed that the famous shield was given to

Rotten Belly by a thunderbird in a vision, and that the upper part was painted black to represent a storm cloud, below which appeared the head and claws of a thunderbird." (Curtis. 1909. Vol. IV. p. 48). However, Curtis did not claim to have seen this shield.

According to Crow tradition this shield had remarkable magical powers of prophesy. Once when a revenge expedition against the Cheyennes was contemplated, Rotten Belly was implored to lead the large Crow war party. He rolled his shield from a high pile of buffalo chips, promising that if the painted side fell next to the ground when the shield stopped rolling he would not proceed against the enemy; but if the painted side was up he would lead the expedition. The painted side was turned upward when the rolling shield stopped, and Rotten Belly led his people to a great victory over the Cheyennes on the Arkansas River. (Lowie. 1922. p. 408; 1956. pp. 230-236). The fur trader, Edwin T. Denig, who wrote a brief biographical sketch of Rotten Belly more than a century ago, described Rotten Belly's leadership of that expedition, but he did not mention the episode of the shield. (Denig. 1953. pp. 41-44).

Jim Beckwourth, the mulatto braggart who lived among the Crows for several years both before and after Rotten Belly's death, claimed that this shield prophesied Rotten Belly's own demise. Shortly before the battle with the Blackfoot in which Rotten Belly was killed, he placed his shield on some buffalo chips, saying, "If it rises, I shall die before I return to the village." The shield then appeared to rise, without visible means of support, to the height of Rotten Belly's head. Beckwourth claimed that as Rotten Belly lay dying of wounds received in the subsequent conflict, he gave his magic shield to him. (Bonner. 1856. pp. 218-221).

The Rotten Belly shield in the museum collections consists of an outer cover of undecorated buckskin; an elaborately painted buckskin inner cover, and a circular rawhide base, 24" in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, painted solid red. The rawhide base, with both covers removed, is shown in Fig. 32.

The very strikingly decorated inner cover appears in full color as the Frontispiece of this monograph. As Grandmother's Knife told Lowie, the black, conventionalized figure painted on this cover is remarkable for the fact that its ears are "disproportionately large." Also unusual are the treatment of the eyes, mouth, head ornament, and the eleven chevrons painted in red on the body. The figure appears to show no marked sexual characteristics. If it re-

presents the moon, as Wildschut was told that it did, it might be either male or female.

Attached to the cover, and hiding part of the left side of the painted figure, is the head and body of a crane in a partial wrapping of red flannel. Tied to the cover on the upper right is a single eagle feather, and at the lower right a deer's tail, both partially covered with red flannel.

There can be no doubt that the decoration of this shield is as unique as is its fame among the Crow Indians—JCE].

MINIATURE SHIELDS

FIGURES 33 AND 34

Two miniature shields of stone were obtained in 1927 from Pretty-on-Top. (CAT. NOS. 15/3267 and 15/3370). These medicines originated in a dream of Pretty-on-Top's father, Little Head. The story of their origin was obtained from Wolf, to whom one of these shields was transferred, but who gave it back to Pretty-on-Top after the stone was accidentally broken.

Little Head was for a time employed as an army scout and received from the commanding officer, known to the Crow Indians as "Three Stars" [General George Crook], a red shirt. A red shirt or red sash was apparently given to those Indians who did scout duty for the army in the early days in order to distinguish them from hostile Indians whom the soldiers might meet. After leaving the army, Little Head sacrificed this shirt to the "Without Fires" by tying it to a pole and leaving it to the elements. Some time later, while traveling with a party of friends through the Wolf Mountains, and while camped for the night, he had a dream. In this dream a white-haired old man, light-complected (*i.e.* a white man), appeared to him. The old man was seated in the center ring of stones in the medicine-wheel on top of Medicine Mountain. And he motioned to Little Head to approach and see him.³¹

A few days later camp was moved close to the mountains. It was fall and the berries were ripening. While other members of the camp were gathering berries, Little Head set out to fast. He climbed to the top of Medicine Mountain and chose as his fasting place the

³¹ S. C. Simms described and illustrated this medicine-wheel, located in the Big Horn Range in Wyoming, just south of the Montana boundary. Many Crow Indians are said to have gone there to seek visions. (Simms. 1903. pp. 107ff.).

center circle of the medicine-wheel. During the third night of his fast Little Head was rewarded with a vision in which the same old man appeared to him, riding a bay horse with a long neck and wide-spreading ears. He was a considerable distance from Little Head and appeared to be riding around in a valley near Stinking Hill, Garvin Basin, Big Horn Mountains. The man was battling with pine trees. From the branches of every tree issued puffs of smoke, like bullets from the barrel of a gun. However, the bullets fell harmlessly at his side and did not hurt the man on horseback. Little Head noticed that the man's body was made of rock. Round his neck he wore a miniature shield made of stone.

Upon his return to camp Little Head made four stone shields. Two of them are now lost. The others were obtained by the writer and are represented in Figs. 33 and 34. These are the only shields of this kind known to the Crows.

The smaller of these two shields (CAT. NO. 15/3370) is but $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The cover of this shield is of buckskin, decorated with a band of blue seed beads symbolizing the distant mountain top on which Little Head fasted and which appears blue and hazy from a distance. The center of the shield is painted blue to represent the sky. The yellow bead sewn on the top center portion of the cover indicates the bullets which cannot penetrate the stone behind it, and which is believed to be the visionary's invulnerable body. The transparent green trade beads suspended from the shield were chosen to represent rain, which in turn shows that the bullets aimed at the owner of this medicine will be as harmless to him as rain from the sky. The black beads with white spots symbolize hail. The small red plume suspended from the long cord at the bottom of the shield represents the rainbow. The horse tracks incised on the stone are charms to bring success in obtaining horses.

Little Head recognized the old man who gave him his medicine as the personification of rocks in general. In the same clan as the rocks are also the sky, the rain, hail and rainbow. Hence all of them are represented in this small medicine.

The larger of these shields (CAT. NO. 15/3267) is 4" in diameter. As shown in Fig. 34, the stone was broken and repaired. This shield has essentially the same symbolic meaning as the smaller one. It differs only in the coloring of the cover, which is painted in two shades of green. The dark green was applied by rubbing the essence of a certain water plant on the cover. That plant belongs

to the same clan as the rain. The light green, applied in similar fashion, symbolizes the earth which is also of the same clan as the other powers represented in the medicine. The small skin pouch suspended below the shield contains herbs used in the ritual of this medicine shield. Wolf did not know the significance of the 9 small brass bells.

Little Head's medicine was eventually the cause of his death. He believed that his body was like rock and impervious to bullets. It is said that on many occasions he proved the strength of this medicine by placing a loaded revolver against different parts of his body or head, and pulling the trigger. After these performances no wound could be seen nor did he appear to have been hurt in any way.

However, a number of years ago, while drunk, Little Head attempted to give one of these demonstrations of his invulnerability. He put the muzzle of a revolver in his mouth, pulled the trigger, and blew off the top of his head, dying immediately. The official verdict was suicide. But the Indians told the writer that because he was drunk Little Head's medicine would not protect him.³²

³² Lowie (1922. pp. 402-418) described a number of Crow shields and illustrated five of them. However, he neither described nor illustrated any miniature shields.

SKULL MEDICINE BUNDLES

ALTHOUGH other bundles of the Crow Indians overshadow the skull medicine bundle in importance and power, none except the sun dance bundle equals it in sacredness. It required three years of negotiation from the time the writer first heard of the existence of a skull bundle to procure the first specimen of this type thus far obtained. The existence of these bundles has always been kept such a secret that no mention of them has been made in any previous writings on the Crows. However, not all skull bundles are medicine objects.

The origin of skull bundles is accounted for as follows:

From time immemorial the Crows buried their dead in the branches of trees, on scaffolds, or in rock shelters; for the idea of interment was repugnant to them. It still is (1927) among the older living members of the tribe.

From time to time a relative visited the burial place of the dead and prayed to the spirits of the departed. Time and the elements ultimately wore away the wrappings with which the body was enshrouded, thus exposing the bones and skull. When this happened, a near relative sometimes took the skull home, wrapped it carefully, and preserved it, thereby partially filling the void created by the departed.³³

It also happened that the possessor of such a skull would receive in his or her dream a vision wherein the skull would appear, again assuming the living form of the deceased. In this dream the spirit would inform the possessor of a certain ceremony attending the opening of the bundle. In this case the skull became a medicine bundle and could be used to inform the owners of many things.

³³ An old photograph of a Crow Indian tree burial, showing the skull exposed to the elements, is reproduced as Fig. 35. In 1862 Robert Meldrum stated that at the end of one or two years after burial the Crows customarily removed the clean and odorless bones from the tree or scaffold, tied them in a bundle, and carried them to the mountains where they were reburied in rock clefts or crevices where they would be sheltered from the snow and rain. (Morgan. 1959. p. 171). This certainly indicates that the Crows had no fear of handling the bones of their dead. However, Meldrum did not mention their retention of skulls as medicines.

The use of the bundle was dependant upon the instructions received in the dream.

A relative might also take possession of a skull, hoping that it would give him or her a desired vision and thus become this individual's medicine. This happened most frequently in cases involving the skulls of persons who were known to have had ghosts or spirits as their medicine while they were living. With the same purpose in view, the skull of a great medicine man might be preserved.

THE BRAIDED TAIL SKULL MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 36

One of the best-known skull medicine bundles of the Crows was the one containing the skull of Braided Tail, one of the most famous medicine men in the history of his tribe. Since this skull was said to have been handed down for five or six generations, Braided Tail's death may have occurred one hundred and fifty or more years ago (*i.e.* before 1780). The wife of Old Alligator last used this skull as a medicine. After her death it passed to her husband, who died in December, 1921. A few days later the bundle came into the possession of the writer. It is now CAT. NO. 11/6452 in the museum collections.

Braided Tail's skull was used for various purposes, and it became a true oracle to its successive possessors. In time of war, after due consultation attended by the necessary ceremony consisting of song singing and the burning of incense, the skull would "inform" the possessor of the proximity of the enemy. It would tell which part of the country would be safe from unexpected attack. When a battle was unavoidable the bundle would give information as to the number of men destined to be killed, and the exact situation of the battleground. In time of famine it would inform the possessor of the whereabouts of game. A sick person could consult this skull and be told by it whether he or she was going to die or whether the patient should make the necessary expenditure for the consultation of a doctor. It was consulted also for the recovery of lost or stolen property. Indeed, the information given through consultation with this skull was never known to fail. Thus, in time it came to be known as one of the most sacred and most potent bundles among the Crows.

Some years ago the wife of Old Alligator became seriously ill. No amount of doctoring seemed to do her any good. During her

illness she again consulted the skull to determine whether her health might possibly be restored by parting with any more of her property for doctor's services. The skull informed her that it would be useless to make any further expenditure, for her life was soon to end and her soul would shortly start on its journey to the "Other Side Camp." Thereafter, this woman would accept no more treatment by a doctor, and she soon died.

With her, unfortunately, went the knowledge of the songs and ritual attending the opening and consultation of this bundle. After her death her husband, Old Alligator, kept the bundle and occasionally opened it. Indians present as such times would make him some gifts and would present something, such as beads or tobacco, to the skull as well. They prayed to it, asking it to give them good health and long life, or expressing such desires as they wished to have fulfilled. As a really effective medicine bundle or oracle, however, this skull was used no more after the death of Old Alligator's wife.³³

[Fig. 36 shows the skull of Braided Tail along with the other contents of this bundle, which include several plugs of tobacco and many strings of large-sized and varicolored trade beads which had been presented to the skull by Indians who had faith in the potency of its medicine. These items and the skull were wrapped in pieces of trade cloth. All were contained in a large, soft-skin sack.—JCE]

Dr. T. Dale Stewart, Curator of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, who kindly examined this skull, has made the following report upon it:

"This specimen includes a lower jaw, is colored red in many areas, and in many places is polished from handling. The main postmortem damage is in the facial area. Some of the teeth are broken, the ends of the nasal bones are broken, and there is a hole in the roof of each orbit. In addition, it was noted that the right side of the nasal aperture is filled with organic matter. This appears to have been deliberate.

There is very little doubt that the jaw belongs to the skull although tooth breakage spoils the occlusion. There had been no antemortem loss of teeth and those present show only first to second degrees of wear. This, together with suture closure, which is advanced endocranially but barely perceptible ectocranially, could indicate an age around 25-35 years.

The sex characters of the skull and jaw clearly indicate a male; the racial characters definitely indicate an Indian. No measurements were taken, but the impression was gained that the skull vault is rather low."

³³ This bundle was briefly described in *Indian Notes*. (Wildschut, 1925a, pp. 119-122).

THE WHITE CHILD SKULL MEDICINE BUNDLE

COLOR PLATE 3

A Crow skull medicine bundle which was considered almost as potent as that of Braided Tail, contained the skull of White Child. This bundle was obtained from Fire Bear in March, 1923. (CAT. NO. II/7677).

Several years after White Child's death his younger sister, Root Digger, then a woman past middle age, went to his burial place and took therefrom the skull of her brother. Shortly thereafter she obtained visions in which the spirit of White Child, through the medium of the skull, foretold future events. Even in the daytime and while she was awake Root Digger sometimes heard her brother's voice prophesying what was going to happen. Soon the Crows came to regard this skull as a powerful medicine. They gave Root Digger many presents, asking her to consult the skull on their behalf.

The Trail related the following account of the use of this bundle:

"A woman named Helps-to-Strike-Many lost her brother in battle. She went out and fasted, mourning the loss of her brother, but experienced no vision. One day she carried several gifts to Root Digger and asked to be allowed to take the skull with her when she again went to fast. Root Digger agreed to let her take the skull when she left on her quest the next day.

"Helps-to-Strike-Many did not return to her tipi that night. She laid down in front of Root Digger's lodge so she would be ready to leave camp just before daybreak. During the night she fell asleep and had a dream. In her dream the spirit of White Child appeared to her and told her she had suffered much, even though she had obtained no vision. However, a Shoshoni chief soon would pay with his life for the death of her brother.

"When Helps-to-Strike-Many awoke she related her dream to Root Digger, who then advised her not to go fasting any more as she would soon gain her revenge. Helps-to-Strike-Many went home and waited. Two days later the camp was startled by the news that some horses had been stolen. The Crows followed the enemy raiding party, who proved to be Shoshoni Indians. They recovered their horses and killed the chief who led the enemy war party.

"Thus Helps-to-Strike-Many had her revenge for the death of her brother, as was foretold by the skull medicine of White Child."

[The White Child bundle is contained in a soft skin sack which measures 12" wide by 14" high when the contents are in place. Upon opening this sack one finds four sub-bundles. Three of these consist of cloth wrappings enclosing plugs of "Golden Crown" and "W. H. Tinsley" tobacco. The skull itself is carefully wrapped in no less than 22 successive layers of patterned, figured, and plain trade cloth. The surface of the skull and numerous small feathers attached to it are smeared with sacred red paint. Trade beads are inserted in the skull's eye sockets. Numerous varicolored, large trade beads, gifts to the medicine, accompany the skull. — JCE]

Dr. T. Dale Stewart's report on his examination of the White Child skull follows:

"When unwrapped, the skull (lacking a lower jaw) was seen to be covered with feathers and the whole thing liberally coated with what appeared to be a mixture of red ocher in some sort of grease. Tooth wear had reached only the first or second stages. Judging from the fact that tooth wear usually reaches these stages at an early adult age in most Indians, I had the impression that this skull represents a young adult. Certainly it is hard to see from this evidence how the age could be more than 35 years.

The sex characters are clearly those of a male. The race characters are Indian."

OTHER SKULL MEDICINE BUNDLES

[From Crow Indian informants William Wildschut obtained accounts of four other skull medicine bundles. He did not obtain these bundles for the museum collections. However, the data collected supplies further, detailed information on the ceremonial rituals and the uses of skull bundles in Crow culture.—JCE]

Skull Bundle of Takes-Back-Twice. A skull medicine bundle often was consulted before setting out on the warpath. In many cases a tooth or a piece of the skull or some other part of the bundle was taken by a member of the party. An interesting account of such an occurrence was obtained from Two Leggings as follows:

"One day I heard that some of our men intended to go out on the warpath. As I walked through camp I noticed a number of people near one of the tipis and inquired why they were there. I was told that they were going to Takes-Back-Twice's lodge, and that he was about to open his medicine bundle. I joined the others and went to his tipi, which was one of the finest in the tribe. Its cover consisted of twenty buffalo hides. A fire was built in the

THE WHITE CHILD SKULL MEDICINE BUNDLE, CAT. NO. II/7677

lodge and as we entered we all sat down on the right-hand side from the entrance.

"Prior to our entrance the owner had taken his medicine bundle and placed it in front of him at the rear of the lodge. One man, sitting at the left, lit a pipe. After we all smoked, Takes-Back-Twice made a smudge of sweetgrass, rubbed his hands in the smoke, and opened the bundle. Inside the bundle were a large number of red feathers and a skull, which was painted yellow. Takes-Back-Twice took the skull out, held it over the smudge, then put it down again next to the wrapping, covering it with black cloth.

"Again the pipe was lit and passed from one man to the other. As the turn of each man came to smoke he pointed the pipestem toward the skull and made a wish, according to his own desire. Some would say, 'I want to get a horse.' Others would say, 'I want to get a scalp.'

"Then the pipe was handed to the owner of the bundle and he also pointed the stem toward the skull, and said, 'I am going on the warpath now. I want you to take care of me and to protect me from the enemy's bullets.'

"After Takes-Back-Twice had spoken he rubbed castoreum all over the skull.

"The ceremony lasted all that afternoon, and, after darkness had fallen, we set out on our journey. We were going toward the Sioux country. That night Takes-Back-Twice had a dream in which the spirit of the skull told him to change our course and go toward the Piegan country. Accordingly we turned north."

Two Leggings then related how the party was successful in capturing a number of Piegan horses and returned home without the loss of a man killed or wounded.

Skull Bundle of Never Dies. Coyote Runs told another story of the use of a skull medicine bundle as a war medicine:

"Four Crows, Napino (an untranslatable name, probably from the language of another tribe) as leader, Does It, Sits-Down-Spotted, and I decided to go on the warpath. We discussed what kind of medicine to take with us. One of us suggested that we call on old man Never Dies, take him four presents—tobacco, gunpowder, shells, and a horse—and ask him to give us one of his medicines. We four then went to Never Dies' tipi, gave him these presents, and told him what we wanted.

"The old man first asked us whether we planned to go then

or later. Napino told him that we would be ready to start in four or five days. Three days later we returned to his tipi and Never Dies again asked us if we were ready to start at once. We told him that we were.

"Never Dies then advised us to make all necessary preparations, and to return to his tipi that night after the other people in the camp had gone to bed. At the appointed time we returned along with a number of other men who were eager to join us. As we entered Never Dies' tipi we noticed that he had carefully cleared the floor. We lit a pipe and each man smoked in turn. The pipe finished, Never Dies laid down two medicines, one an arrow medicine, the other a skull medicine bundle. When he asked us which one we preferred to take on the warpath, we chose the skull medicine.

"'If you want the skull medicine, take part of it with you,' said Never Dies. 'The whole bundle is too heavy for you to carry.'

"After the bundle was opened, Never Dies took from it seven red plumes and laid them in front of the skull. Then he asked one of us to fill and light his pipe for him. After it was lighted and handed to him, Never Dies smoked it and pointed it toward the skull, stem first, saying, 'Guard these young men. Warn them and give them a sign in case of danger.' Then, turning to us, he said, 'I made a smudge and sang a song. Then I raised the skull over the smoke made by the incense and received a vision. In that vision I foresaw that when you young men are traveling between the Musselshell and the mountains you will meet some enemies who have stolen a number of Crow horses. You will recover all the horses and will kill three of the enemy. My vision is not clear, however, in telling whether you will, meet these enemies on your return journey or on your way out.'

"Never Dies then gave Napino the seven feathers which had been part of the wrapping of the skull, and soon afterward we started. We went toward the Snowy Mountains, and on the way saw some of the enemy but did not make contact with them. On our return we camped one night in a coulee near the Musselshell. Before daybreak Napino woke us saying that he had had a dream in which he was told that we would meet the enemy about noon.

"I was sent out as scout, and some time later saw the enemy. Some of them were hunting buffalo. The rest were driving a number of horses before them. We all painted our faces, took off our clothes, and put on our medicines. Napino, our leader,

walked four times around us and, standing behind us, sang his war song. They he prayed to the skull, and we waited for the enemy to approach. We killed three of their number, took all the horses they had stolen from the Crows besides three of their own, and returned to camp."

Pretty Blanket's Skull Medicine: Mrs. The Trail told of a skull medicine bundle once owned by her cousin, a woman named Pretty Blanket:

"Pretty Blanket's adopted brother, Bear Head, died and his body was deposited on a scaffold in the breaks of the Big Horn Valley. Whenever the camp was near that place, Pretty Blanket visited the burial place and mourned Bear Head's loss. One day she noticed that the skull had fallen away from the body. So she decided to take it home with her.

"Soon Pretty Blanket began to tell of dreams and visions she had received from the skull. Even during the daytime and in the presence of other people it would communicate to her. The others, however, would be unaware of this until so informed by her."

Mrs. The Trail recalled three instances of the use of Pretty Blanket's skull medicine:

"One day I was camped with the River Crows near Black Pinnacle, close to the Missouri River. The leaves of the berries were just turning yellow. We were all busy drying and tanning hides as meat had been plentiful. I was sitting outside the tipi with Pretty Blanket and some other women. My husband was just coming from a hand game to get something to eat. I had observed that Pretty Blanket had been very quiet for a while, but as my husband neared, she said to him:

"'Roundnose (a term of endearment used among the Crows between close relatives), something awful is going to happen very soon. Hurry and attend to your horses.'

"My husband left to look after his horses. Even before his return the cry was heard through the camp that the enemy is coming! Get your horses and weapons! A notable battle occurred that day, and my husband was one of the first to make himself ready to fight the enemy. The skull of Bear Head had told Pretty Blanket of this impending event. Yet it was broad daylight and we were all assembled.

"At another time, during the good winter year, my husband, Mountain, was on the warpath and was leader of his party. He had been out eleven days and I was hoping to see him soon. Pretty

Blanket, whose tipi was close to mine, came to me during the early afternoon and said, 'Your husband is returning and is bringing something wonderful. It is something that would be a credit to the leader of any war party. My skull medicine has told me so.'

"Pretty Blanket then sat down next to me and began to sing a song of victory and joy. I joined in the singing, and together we waited. That evening my husband and his party returned with fifty captured horses.

"On still another occasion I was present when it was plain to me that Pretty Blanket received communication from her skull medicine. She came one morning from her tipi and told all of the women to prepare an honour feast of boiled dried fruit and pemmican. 'A party of Mountain Crows is coming to visit us', she said. That evening a large party of Mountain Crows, with Wet as leader, visited our camp."

Strikes-the-Hat's Skull Medicine. Another skull medicine bundle of some importance is of special interest because it is still in use (1923). It is owned by Strikes-the-Hat, widow of Hunts-the-Enemy. Her husband died some years ago but Strikes-the-Hat, an old woman about 80 years of age, now (1923), lives in the Big Horn Valley near the mission of St. Xavier.

The following account of this bundle was obtained from Mrs. The Trail:

Strikes-the-Hat was a young woman when her father, Small Horse, died. Unfortunately, however, she was a cripple and she wondered how she would be able to make a living. Her father was not a medicine man. But shortly after his death Strikes-the-Hat took the skull from the place where her father's remains had been deposited, and kept it in her tipi. Soon she began to receive dreams in which the spirit of her father appeared, giving her the power to cure the sick and to recover lost or stolen property. In her ceremony she used her father's skull but would never tell what she actually saw in her dreams. Ever since then the old woman has been successful in doctoring the sick. The following stories illustrate how this skull medicine was employed in quite recent times for the recovery of stolen or lost property.

One day Mrs. C. B. missed a ten dollar bill which had disappeared from the tent where she had been visiting, and which she believed one of the other women of her party had stolen. If she had lost it, she reasoned, it would have been returned to her. She

consulted Strikes-the-Hat, saying to her, "If you love your children, you will help me to recover my stolen property." She also gave some presents to Strikes-the-Hat.

Strikes-the-Hat told Mrs. C. B. to return the next morning. Then she made a smudge and performed the necessary ceremony before consulting her skull medicine. When the consultation was finished, she told another woman that the money had been stolen and that it was now in a certain bag, which she minutely described, within the tent where Mrs. C. B. was visiting. She also named the woman who had stolen the money.

Strikes-the-Hat warned the old woman to whom she gave this information to say nothing about it to anyone in camp. Otherwise trouble might be caused. But the old woman, instead of guarding her secret, went to the tent where Mrs. C. B. was staying and related all that Strikes-the-Hat had said to her except the name of the thief. The woman whom Strikes-the-Hat had named as the thief was present. When she heard what was said, she spoke. "Mrs. C. B., the money you lost I found outside the tent and put it in my bag intending to return it to you; but I forgot all about it." Then she reached for the bag described by Strikes-the-Hat, took from it the ten dollar bill, and returned it to its owner.

Mrs. The Trail told another account of the recovery of lost property through the medium of this skull medicine which occurred as recently as 1919.

"Smart Enemy lost some of his best horses. For many days he vainly looked for them. In despair he even visited some spiritualists in Billings and Sheridan, but even these could not help him to find his horses. Finally he went to Strikes-the-Hat, gave her some presents, and asked her to consult her skull medicine in an endeavor to locate his horses. Strikes-the-Hat told Smart Enemy to return the next day. That evening the old woman prepared a smudge and, with the usual ceremony, consulted the skull bundle.

"When Smart Enemy called the next morning, Strikes-the-Hat told him that she had had a vision in which she saw his horses at a certain place in the Big Horn Valley. Smart Enemy immediately rode to the locality indicated by the old woman and there found his horses quietly grazing, just as she had seen them in her vision."

THE ROTTEN BELLY JAW MEDICINE

FIGURES 37, 38, 39

[An unusual medicine in the collections of this museum is the jaw medicine bundle reputed to contain the jaw of the great Crow chief, Rotten Belly. (CAT. NO. 12/731). Wildschut did not describe this specimen in his manuscript, probably because he was unable to obtain detailed information on its use from Indian informants. But in his field correspondence under the date of July 7, 1923, at which time he forwarded this bundle to the museum, Wildschut wrote: "Jaw medicine obtained from Bull Tong. The jaw contained in this bundle is said to have belonged to *Arapoosh* (Rotten Belly), the same person who was the first owner of the shield forwarded March 22nd last. This medicine is said to have had the same power as a skull medicine."

Whether or not this is actually the jaw of the famous chief of the Mountain Crows, who was killed in a battle with the Blackfoot in 1834, may be questionable in view of Dr. T. Dale Stewart's report on the estimated age of the owner of this jaw at death. Yet Rotten Belly's age at death is not precisely known. We do know that he was a prominent chief in his tribe at the time of the first Crow Treaty with the United States at the Mandan villages in the year 1825. Maximilian met Rotten Belly in June 1833 and described him as "a fine tall man, with a pleasing countenance" who "had much influence over his people". (Maximilian, 1843. p. 174). News of Rotten Belly's death in battle was recorded in the Fort Pierre Journal of Chardon on August 8, 1834. (Chardon, 1932. p. 253). It seems improbable that Rotten Belly was less than 40 years of age at the time of his death. He may have been older.

Nevertheless, it is significant that Indians of later generations *believed* this to be the jaw of Rotten Belly, and regarded it as an especially potent medicine. We know that the memory of this great chief was dear to the Crows long after his death. Writing twenty years later, Edwin T. Denig, stated: "The loss of Rotten Belly was deeply felt and regretted by the Crows, perhaps more than that of, any other man before or since his time." In the middle 1850's the Crows continued to refer to Rotten Belly as "*the Chief*", or as "*the Great Chief*." (Denig. 1953. p. 56).

This medicine is preserved in a small boat-shaped rawhide case 12" wide and 8½" high at the ends, painted in red, dark blue and green geometric designs. (Fig. 38). The inner wrapping is a

whole, small fawn skin (hair side out). It contains, in addition to the jaw, a quantity of buffalo hair, braids of sweetgrass, and some tobacco.

The surface of the jaw (actually only a portion of the left side of the mandible) is rubbed with red paint. It is almost entirely covered with a wrapping of buffalo hide (hair side out) which is fitted carefully to the jaw and sewn in place. From this wrapping are pendant skin thongs on which are strung a wide variety of trade beads of different sizes and colors, mixed with small drilled stones, sections of abalone shell and two dentalia. (Fig. 37).

Dr. T. Dale Stewart's report on his physical examination of this jaw follows—JCE]:

"I have had David B. Scott of the National Institute of Dental Research, an authority on the identification of teeth, look at the x-ray of this specimen. He agreed with my opinion, based on the gross specimen, that it would be surprising if this individual had been over 30 years of age at the time of death. There are not the age changes visible in the gross specimen or in the x-ray which one would expect to find at an older age. However, this is simply our impression and is not supported by specific research on this type of ageing.

I feel on more certain ground in the determination of sex, although here too there is not much to go on. Our collection of Plains Indian jaws includes a number of males with the same kind of chin conformation."

TOOTH AND HAIR MEDICINES

NONE ILLUSTRATED

Tooth medicines may be divided into two classes from the viewpoint of their origin. First there were those obtained from a skull medicine bundle. They were frequently taken on the warpath in the belief that thereby a spiritual connection was established between the skull and the tooth carrier. In such cases, it was the Indian's belief that the power of the skull medicine was fully transferred to him for the time being through the tooth which he carried with him on the warpath.³⁴

³⁴ Lowie did not describe Crow skull medicine bundles, yet he mentioned a tooth from the skull of "White-cub, the greatest of Crow shamans," which Gray Bull carried as a war medicine on four expeditions. (Lowie. 1922. p. 420). If Lowie's "White-cub" and Wildschut's "White Child" were the same, the former, therefore, referred indirectly to the skull medicine bundle the latter has here described. See p. 79.

A tooth from a skull medicine also was used for an entirely different purpose. When an Indian continually lost property and had persistent bad luck, the other members of the tribe began to gossip. If this bad luck continued, the Indians said that such an individual "had been touched by mouth". The Indian then tried to obtain the tooth from a skull medicine, believing that thereby he would be able to ward off the evil gossip.

The second kind of tooth medicine is taken from the mouth of an old man or woman. Such an aged person, feeling about to die, will extract one of his or her teeth and give it to a near relative. It is hoped that the new owner then will enjoy the same long and healthy life as was given to the original possessor of the tooth. The new owner will pray to the tooth, invoking the spirit of the deceased, asking it to intercede with the "Great Above Person", so that his or her wishes may be realized. Such a tooth is usually wrapped in a buckskin cover, sewn tightly around the tooth, beaded and fringed. In appearance these medicines resemble small rock medicines.

Hair was often given to members of younger generations by older people much as were teeth, and for the same purpose. Frequently a lock of hair was taken from a dead person who had lived to very great age, plaited in hoop form, rolled in buckskin, and then beaded. Thus it became an amulet, worn around the neck, and like the tooth medicine, it was hoped that it would insure for the wearer the same long life and health as was possessed by the original owner. From time to time such an amulet was seen in a dream, and with it the spirit of the dead. When such a vision was obtained the amulet became a medicine in the true form.³⁵

³⁵ One of the most famous Crow medicines was the hair of Long Hair, head chief of the Mountain Crows and first signer of the first Crow Treaty with the United States on August 4, 1825. His hair was his medicine. It was variously estimated by different writers at from 9' 11" to 36' long. (Catlin, 1841. Vol. 1. pp. 49-50; Maximilian, 1843. p. 175; Leonard, 1959. p. 140-141; Denig, 1953. p. 63).

Denig, who probably knew Long Hair before the latter's death in about the year 1850, wrote of him: "Encouraged by a dream, when a young man, that he would become great in proportion to the growth of his hair, he tied weights to it, which aided its growth, and every few months separated the locks into small parcels which were stuck together with the gum of the pine tree. In this way none of his hair could be lost. If any fell out the gum prevented it from dropping. At the age of 50 his hair was the length mentioned [36 feet] 'tho no single stalk was longer than usual among females of

our own color. This cumbersome bunch of hair he rolled up into two large balls and carried them in front of his saddle while riding. When on foot, the rolls were attached to his girdle. On great festivals he mounted on horseback, unrolled his hair, and rode slowly round the camp with his scalplocks trailing some distance behind him on the ground." (Denig. 1953. p. 63).

The hair of Long Hair was preserved as a Crow medicine bundle after his death. In 1930 it was owned by Chief Plenty Coups who showed it to General Hugh L. Scott and Congressman Scott Leavitt. The latter reported that it was "76 hands 1 finger in length" (about 25' 5"), and he believed that it was "all one strand."

Dr. Edward F. Corson, M. D., who reviewed the evidence available on Long Hair's tresses prior to the publication of Denig's statement quoted above, concluded: "Even the shortest length estimated constitutes a record in growth [of human hair] as far as I have been able to discover." (Corson, 1947. pp. 443-447)."

ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLES

PROBABLY no other type of bundle is more widely distributed among the Crows than is the rock medicine. The importance of rock medicines varied according to the success they brought to their owners. Consequently some of them attained sacredness and importance almost equalling those of sun dance bundles.

The Crow name for rock medicine is *bacoritse*. The same name is applied to all peculiarly shaped rocks, and particularly to all fossils found on the surface of the earth. All rocks to which this term applies are sacred, but they are not all considered medicine. This distinction is important, because all "rocks" that are considered medicine were obtained in dreams and visions.

A Crow will pray to a peculiarly shaped rock or fossil which he finds in his path, asking for good luck, health and happiness, and then pass on, leaving the rock where he found it. Sometimes such a rock is picked up and carried home by the finder in the hope that it will appear to him in a dream or vision. But if no vision comes this rock has no special value. It is not used as a medicine or made into a bundle. However, if the finder has a dream in which the rock he found appears to him, he immediately recognizes it as a rock medicine. Nevertheless, he would apply the name *bacoritse* to both rocks.

Again, in a dream a visionary person may appear to the Indian and this person may be the personification of a certain rock. Or he may hold in his hands a rock, and show it to the dreamer. The dreamer is then told where to find the rock thus personified or revealed, whether the rock is male or female, its subsequent ritual, the distinctive powers that rock is supposed to possess, and the taboos to be observed by its owner. Each rock medicine has certain taboos which must be respected by its owner.

When a rock is thus shown to a dreamer he will, upon awakening, go immediately to the spot where this rock was said to be, which may be miles from his camping place. He will recognize the rock either by its appearance as revealed in his dream or by the odor it is supposed to emit. This odor most frequently appears to

be that of sweetgrass or bear root (*esah*). The Indian believes that this odor will be apparent as long as he travels in the right direction and that it will lead him to the rock he is seeking.

Rock medicines are divided into male and female. Upon close examination of a large number of rock medicines it appears that all female rocks are egg-shaped pebbles, gastrolites or fossilized ammonites. The male rocks invariably are fossilized sections of baculites, or rocks in which the Indian imagines he sees a human face, or merely a more or less sharply pointed rock of some kind.

The belief that if these sacred bundles are left to themselves for a certain time they will have offspring is common among all tribes who possess rock medicines. The Crows, however, make a positive distinction between male and female rocks. And it is their belief that whenever such rocks are properly mated and left undisturbed for at least a year they will invariably bring forth smaller stones. The writer has been shown many examples which the Indians claim substantiate this belief.

The offspring of existing rock medicines are also considered "medicine". Their power depends primarily upon the potency attributed to the parent rocks, and upon the degree of success they bring to their owners. Their value naturally increases if the owner thereafter has successful dreams or visions which he recognizes as having been inspired by these rocks. The powers and taboos of the parent rocks are inherited by the offspring, at least until such time as future dreams or visions may change them.

A rock medicine is inherited by the oldest surviving son or daughter of its owner. If no children survive, the bundle is passed to the nearest relative. The transfer of a rock medicine bundle during the life of the owner requires a special ceremony and the exchange of four presents.

If a married woman receives a rock medicine in her dream she gives it to her husband.

POWERS ATTRIBUTED TO ROCK MEDICINES

Nearly all rock medicines are credited with more than one power. Some were even supposed to be able to assist the owner in every imaginable undertaking. A partial list of rock medicine owners and the powers their respective bundles are supposed to possess follows:

Little Nests' bundle is used for a great variety of purposes, as is a rock medicine owned by Plenty Coups.

Three Wolves owns a rock medicine used exclusively for the increase of his property.

Root's bundle was used for capturing horses and for increasing his own herd.

Gray Bull's bundle was used for capturing horses, and to keep himself and his family in good health.³⁶

Medicine Crow's medicine is said to have been remarkably successful in increasing his herd of horses, which now (1927) numbers more than 600.³⁷

Yellow Brow's rock medicine was used exclusively for success in war.

Bear Tail's rock medicine was used chiefly on the warpath and for general success.

Gets-Back-Twice had a rock medicine which was well known because each time he opened it a small rock was found inside, obviously the offspring of the parent one. These little rocks were highly prized for use on the warpath. Sometimes Gets-Back-Twice presented one of them to a person adopted by him in the tobacco dance.

Big-Medicine-Rock owned a rock medicine that was used for calling buffalo, on the warpath, and to abate storms and bad weather in general.

Spine's rock medicine was also used for calling buffalo and for success in war.

Short had a rock medicine which he used mainly to bring good luck in gambling.

It is interesting to note that those rocks which correspond to the Blackfoot *iniskim* and to the Arapaho *centipid*, and which are sections of a baculite, were also called "buffalo rocks" by the Crows. These rocks were invariably gifted with the power of drawing buffalo. However, as seen in the above list, the Crows also attributed other powers to them. The Crows also had other types of buffalo calling medicine bundles, although they were few in number.³⁸

³⁶ Lowie (1922. pp. 385, 388) learned that Gray Bull owned several rock medicines. He described two of them.

³⁷ Lowie (1922. pp. 389) described Medicine Crow's bundle and related the story of its origin.

³⁸ Described here later.

Those rocks on which the Crows recognized the face of a human being were principally used for war purposes. Other rocks were supposed to resemble the eagle, and were used on the war-path, usually by the leaders of war parties. To them was ascribed the power to see the location of enemy camps and horses from far off.

To such rocks as those on which the Indians imagined they could see the semblance of horses were assigned the power of capturing enemy horses and of successful breeding of the owners' own herds.

Nevertheless, the writer, who has collected more than 100 rock medicines from the Crows, has seen many instances in which powers were attributed to rock medicines which were entirely different from those the appearances of these medicines would suggest. The bundle once owned by Mrs. Big-Medicine-Rock, for example, was supposed to have the power of calling the buffalo. Yet it was not a baculite, but an ammonite.

It would be impossible to accept the theory that certain rocks inspired certain visions. A rock believed to resemble a human head, an eagle, or a horse might influence the mind of the Indian to such an extent that he indeed acquired such a vision. On the other hand, so many of the supposed resemblances are of such an imaginary nature that it seems far more likely that the Indian was inspired by his vision to imagine a likeness in the rock which corresponded with the spirit seen in his dream.

ORNAMENTATION OF ROCK MEDICINES

Nearly all Crow rock medicines are more or less ornamented. The decorations are fastened to the buckskin fringes attached to the deerskin wrapping in which the rock itself is encased. Usually only a very small part of the rock is left exposed. The deerskin is painted with the sacred red paint and the rock rubbed with castoreum. In most rock medicines the bead decoration predominates. Yet, some have few or no beads attached to them, but rather a variety of feathers, weasel skin strips, horsehair, etc. The latter were said to have been primarily pipe-holder's bundles and were really war medicines. The weasel skin strips were attached to them in the hope that their owners might become chiefs. Horsehair expressed the hope for acquisition of horses, and buffalo hoofs the hope that wherever these bundles were taken plenty of meat

might be obtained. Beaver nails, or a beaver foot attached to a rock medicine expressed desire for success in trapping; deer hoofs, for success in hunting.

Frequently an Indian would take some part of another bundle and give it to a famous rock medicine bundle in the hope that he might thereby receive better dreams from his own bundle. Thus an Indian who had bear for his medicine might present a rock medicine with a bear claw, trusting that he would secure better visions from his bear medicine.

Those rock medicines which were decorated only with beads were used, as a rule, to obtain for the owner and his family good luck and good health. These were also bundles used in doctoring, the patient giving one or more beads, besides other fees, to the bundle owner at each administration.

Nevertheless, rock medicines cannot be definitely classified on the basis of their decoration alone. The vision or visions (many rock medicines appeared at different times to their owners) assigned the powers the bundles were believed to possess. The vision might also impose restrictions upon the bundle's decoration. Thus some rock medicines were not allowed to have feathers attached to them; others were forbidden hair, hoof, or even bead decorations.

A general taboo forbade all rock medicine owners to eat any part of the head of an animal or to deliberately break a rock or a stone. Other taboos were imposed by the instructions received in dreams by the bundle owners. They were as varied as were the number of rock medicines themselves.

When a rock medicine was taken on the warpath the owner wore it suspended from a thong around his neck and underneath his shirt. As soon as the enemy was sighted the medicine was taken out and worn around the neck above the shirt or on the warrior's bare chest.

Some rock medicines have an extra piece of buckskin attached to them in which the medicine is wrapped when not in actual use.

ORIGIN LEGENDS

With the exception of Arrow Rock, the writer has heard of no immovable rock held sacred by the Crows. Arrow Rock is a large butte near the lower end of Pryor Gap, about five miles south of Pryor Agency. In the spring of each year the Crows congregated

there, and made sacrifices to this rocky hill, depositing in its crevices beads and other gifts and shooting arrows into its higher clefts.³⁹ According to the origin tradition told by Mrs. Medicine-is-Her-Medicine, it was here that the Crows received their first rock medicines, hence the sacredness of Arrow Rock:

Long before the white people came to the Crow country a group was moving camp from what is now the northwestern part of the State of Wyoming to the southeastern part of present Montana. It was late summer and the Crows were going to hunt game along the Yellowstone River.

An Indian boy and girl, having gradually fallen behind, found themselves, when night came, at a pass through the Pryor Mountains now known as Pryor Gap. Looking for a shelter for the night, the young couple chanced upon a cave under some overhanging rocks. There they decided to remain until morning. But toward midnight they were awakened by the sound of voices and they saw some children approaching.

These children invited the boy and girl to come and play with them. After walking for some little time they came to a very large buffalo tipi. This tipi stood at the place now known as Arrow Rock, a few hundred yards from the lower entrance to Pryor Gap. The boy and girl were invited inside the tipi. When they entered they found themselves in the midst of a number of very old Indians who, as they discovered later, were assembled for a meeting of the rock medicine owners. The leader asked the children who had guided the young Crow couple to the tipi, "Where did you find these two poor Indians?"

The child guides replied that these were Crows who had been left behind while the rest of their hunting party was moving toward the plains in search of game. They said they had felt sorry for them and had thought there would be no harm in bringing them into the tipi.

Then the leader asked, "What is your wish in bringing this couple to our tipi?"

The children replied: "We had no special desire. But we thought this young couple would like to meet you older men. And we thought you could help them."

The old men then talked together for a time, trying to decide what they could do for the young couple. At last one of them

³⁹ Marquis (1928, p. 189) referred to the Crow practice of making sacrifices to this rock and shooting arrows at it.

suggested that they should be given rock medicines so that the Crows would learn about this great power through which their numbers might increase from generation to generation. He proposed that the young couple be instructed in all the details of the ceremony. Then they could carry them back to the Crows who could then meet together as they were doing that night.

The other old men agreed to this. So during the night the two Crows were shown and told everything about the rock medicines and the many powers a rock medicine might possess. They were instructed in the ritual, taught the songs that rock medicine owners sing, and shown the complete ceremony which came to be known among the Crows as "the singing of the cooked meat."

The next day the two young people started out, reached their camp, and told their parents what had happened to them during the previous night. Following the insistence of the leader of the old men they asked their parents to give a large feast and call a meeting of all the older Indians. This was done. At the meeting the children told the old people all they had learned from the old men. At first the old people were filled with fears and anxiety. Then the children told them that the old rock medicine men had said, "We give you this rock medicine for the purpose of bringing to the Crows plenty of food and horses and to help the tribe to increase. The opening ceremony will bring the Crows food and prosperity for the coming season."

The rock medicines are created male and female. The female rocks will have children, and the more children they have, the more will the tribe increase in numbers, the more horses the owners will have, and the healthier their families will be. When a male and female rock are wrapped in the same bundle and the bundle is not disturbed for a time children will be born to these rocks. Future owners of rock medicines will have visions in which they will be told the power of the rock medicine given to them, whether it is male or female, the songs to be sung when the bundle is opened, how often to open it, what it is to be used for, whether it is to be kept inside or outside of the tipi, and the bundle taboos which must be observed strictly."

This is the legend of the origin of the rock medicines which is commonly related by the Crows at the present time (1927). However, the writer is convinced that it is not the original Crow legend of the rock medicine. Their true sacredness is expressed in an older legend, as follows:

"When the earth was created by First Worker the first people on earth were Old Man Coyote and a man called *Batseesh*, the Rockman, the living spirit of all the rocks. He wandered all over the earth in search of a mate, but could not find one. When he met Old Man Coyote and told him his troubles, Old Man Coyote advised him to go to the tobacco plant. He said there were seeds inside the husk of that plant that were females, but they could not leave the husk without assistance. So *Batseesh* went to the tobacco plant, entered the husk and found a mate whom he married and took with him.

"Old Man Coyote built a tipi. There *Batseesh*, the Rockman, and his wife, the tobacco plant, as well as Old Man Coyote and a mouse, who was the personification of Old Grandmother, the Moon, all lived together. One day Old Man Coyote told his companions he would have to play a shinny game with two strangers who were coming their way. He also said that if he lost this game they all would be killed; if he won they would continue to live together. Old Man Coyote won the game. So *Batseesh*, the Rockman, and the tobacco plant continued to live on together. They mated and from their progeny descended the people who now live on this earth."

OPENING OF ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLES

According to Mrs. Medicine-is-Her-Medicine the rock medicine owners formed a separate society. This statement was confirmed by several informants but denied by others. A ceremony in which a number of individual rock medicine owners participated, each one bringing to this assembly and opening his own bundle, is known among the Crows as *Erokahe Oeshea Maraxxua* (literally, "meat burned sing"). It is often referred to as the "Pemmican Festival", or as "Feast of the Dry-meat Eaters", or more properly, "Singing of the Cooked Meat".

Practically all informants agree that the "Singing of the Cooked Meat" ceremony was held in early spring and in the fall of the year. This time corresponds with the opening of all important war medicines, *i.e.* every spring, as soon as possible after the first thunder has been heard, and again in the fall at the first signs of winter. During the spring opening ceremony of all bundles prayers are offered to the Great Above Ones asking for success in war, health, and plenty of food during the coming summer

season. In the fall the same ceremony is held with prayers for similar success during the approaching winter season.

A distinction should be made between the ceremony of the "Singing of the Cooked Meat", during which each of the assembled bundle owners opened his rock medicine bundle, and the opening of an individual bundle within the circle of the owner's own family and invited guests. The opening of an individual bundle may take place at almost any time, provided sufficient inducement is offered to the owner. In acquiring rock medicines from the Crows, the writer has never experienced serious objections to the opening of a bundle.

CEREMONY OF THE SINGING OF THE COOKED MEAT

The details of this ceremony were obtained chiefly from Mrs. Medicine-is-Her-Medicine, daughter of Big Forehead, who in his day was one of the most powerful medicine men of the Mountain Crows; from Coyote Runs, another Mountain Crow; from The Trail, an old River Crow woman of excellent memory; and from Chief Two Leggings. All of them were owners of rock medicine bundles, and all were elderly people of 70 or more years of age.

In the old days the "Singing of the Cooked Meat" was considered one of the most important Crow ceremonies. Although a limited number of persons actually participated, they were chosen from the most powerful medicine men and warriors. It was a ceremony in which the most sacred and powerful medicine songs were sung, therefore large numbers of people gathered around the outside of the ceremonial tipi and listened to those sacred songs. The ceremony was always held after sunset and lasted until late at night or until early morning. (The writer attended one of these ceremonies on October 21, 1926, which began at 8:30 P.M. and ended after 3:30 A.M. the next morning).

Although this ceremony was generally held in fulfillment of a vow or as the result of a dream, it most commonly took place at the beginning of a new moon in fall and in the spring of the year.

Two Leggings told how he once determined to give this ceremony, how his plan was announced, and how the guests were invited:

"One day while we were camped along the Big Horn River, our chief, Two Belly, invited a number of his friends to come and

smoke with him. I was one of the party. I felt particularly happy. Meat had been plentiful, chokecherries were abundant, no enemies had been reported for some considerable time, and harmony reigned in the camp. I had received no dream, but a desire which I had had for some time to give the ceremony of the "Singing of the Cooked Meat" finally became so strong that when I went to Two Belly's tipi to participate in the smoke gathering, I decided to announce there and then that I would give a feast for the purpose. At that time I owned a rock medicine which I had received from my brother, who in turn had inherited it from his mother-in-law.

"Two Belly asked me, when he heard this announcement, whether I had any cause for giving the ceremony. I told him, of course, that I had not except an overwhelming desire to do so. The chief seemed to hesitate for some time, but finally he said, 'I see no reason why you should not have this ceremony. Give it and pray that no sickness may befall our camp, that enemies may not come near us, and that we may continue to enjoy an abundance of food. Buffalo are plentiful around us. Choose your hunters and tell them to bring you the necessary meat and bones.'

"During this gathering, I chose thirteen members of our tribe whom I intended to invite and who were to bring me the meat and bones needed. After selecting these men, Buries-Himself-with-the-Wolf, who acted as camp crier, went out and proclaimed that I would give the ceremony of the 'Singing of the Cooked-Meat' in about four days, at the time when the moon would be full. He further announced the names of those whom I would invite, and reminded them to bring me plenty of meat and bones on the appointed day.

"During the remaining days I hunted buffalo with those Indians I had invited. Together we killed between forty and fifty head. We took only the choicest part of the shoulders for the ceremony, and gave the remainder of the meat away. All of the hunters brought me the bones of the buffalo to boil, so as to obtain the fat from them. Whenever one of the hunters brought me the bones of a carcass I would pretend to strike these three times with my bone crusher. Each time I did so I sang. 'I know how bones are struck.' The fourth time I sang a different song with the words. 'I know the different seasons. I know the different seasons.' As I finished the last words I struck the bones with my crusher and prepared them for boiling.

"Then I instructed my brother-in-law, He-Charges-on-the-Enemy, to bring me some willows. He returned quickly, and from these branches I cut fourteen sticks, each three hands and four finger widths in length. One stick I kept myself, and I handed him the other thirteen with instructions to visit in turn each of thirteen invited members of the tribe, call them outside their tipis, hand them one of the sticks, and say nothing except, 'I have sung for you.' This is the usual method of extending a formal invitation to attend the 'Singing of the Cooked Meat.' If the person thus addressed accepts the stick he is obliged to attend the ceremony. Only illness might prevent him from doing so."

The office of carrying the invitation sticks is one of great importance. In return for this service each of the invited Indians was obliged to give the stick-carrier one of his most important dreams. Thus, when He-Charges-on-the-Enemy handed a stick to White-Clay-on-the-Forehead, the latter said, "In my dream I saw the green grass grow. May you live until then." One of the other recipients said, "I saw in my dream an old man with gray hair. May you live to see old age."

Most informants agreed that no restrictions were placed upon the number of invited guests. Yet some stated that in ancient times only ten such sticks were distributed and they were handed to the most famous medicine men in the tribe. Not all those invited were rock medicine owners. However, Coyote Runs and Mrs. Medicine-is-Her-Medicine agreed that none but rock medicine owners were entitled to participate in the ceremony.

Early on the day of the ceremony the invited guests assembled in the tipi of the feast-giver, each carrying his supply of meat. Here all joined in pounding the meat, which was then spread on a large rawhide. The feast-giver meanwhile had prepared the fat and dried chokecherries. After all the meat was pounded, the feast-giver sang four songs, holding his right hand, palm down, over the meat and lowering the same after each song, until, when the fourth song was finished, he touched the meat. He then fashioned the form of a bear with the meat, being careful that the head of this form faced the mountains. Again four different songs were sung. Then the feast-giver pressed with his knuckles the image of a bear track on the shoulders of this bear, after which he poured grease over these tracks.

Usually each guest reserves a small supply of meat which he places in front of him. Although these individual servings are not

shaped in any particular form, bear tracks are pressed into them and the tracks filled with grease.

Then the meat is further mixed with grease and dried chokecherries and the feast-giver sings a song of joy. Next one of the guests shapes the mixed meat into one large, square piece and as many smaller ones as there are guests. The larger piece is called *Macehce*, meaning "The first big one." The smaller ones are round.

This ends the preliminary ceremony, and the guests leave for their respective lodges. The feast-giver then calls women thoroughly to clean his tipi and to arrange it for the ceremony proper. During the "Singing of the Cooked Meat" the tipi is pitched so that the opening faces the mountains. A log is placed near the opening and is covered with a well-tanned buffalo calfskin, hair side uppermost, upon which the rock medicine bundles are to be placed. Between this robe and the center of the lodge is placed the pemmican. In front of this are put four buffalo chips. Between these and the central fire a smudge is made.

When the guests arrive each returns his invitation stick to the feast-giver, and as soon as the entire number of sticks sent out are returned, the ceremony begins. All the guests and their wives enter the tipi to the left of the feast-giver. As each man arrives he sits down to the left of the previous arrival while his wife takes her place directly behind him. Before taking their places, however, each smudges his bundle and then places it upon the tanned buffalo robe, turned so that the front of each bundle faces the opening of the tipi and the mountains. No one is allowed to pass in front of these bundles.

When all the guests have arrived a pipe is passed and the men smoke in the usual ceremonial way. The leader then opens the ceremony by purifying his hands and the buffalo rattle (used in the ceremony) over a smudge of finely cut shreds of bear root (*esah*) and sweetgrass. The rattle is carried in the left hand first. The top part is first held over the smudge, then the handle. This action is repeated four times. The feast-giver then places the rattle, together with an eagle wing in front of the person sitting on his left. In the singing which follows, the eagle wing is held in the right hand and moved in imitation of an eagle in flight, while the songs are accompanied by the rattle held in the singer's left hand. No drums are used in this ceremony.

After purifying his hands, the feast-giver then takes from the row of medicine bundles the one belonging to the first singer,

smudges the bundle, points it, with a short prayer, to the east, west, south and north, and places it in front of the owner. The wife of the singer then gives presents to the feast-giver, and the first singer unwraps his bundle, presses the medicine to his heart, kisses it, and utters a prayer. Two Leggings said that the prayer he gave in the ceremony many years ago was, "You sun, moon and stars; you trees, water and monsters that dwell therein; I am going to sing. Old Man Father, no need for me to mention, for you know I made a sweat-bath for you at a certain place. I am going to sing. Old Man Father, I have sacrificed to you. I am going to sing. I will sing for you. Give us health, happiness and long life."

The singing then began. The singer's medicine is suspended by a thong around his neck. He holds the rattle in his left hand, the eagle wing in his right. Accompanied by his wife he sings the songs belonging to his bundle.

Mrs. Medicine-is-Her-Medicine recited two sets of four songs each which belonged to the rock medicine bundle of her husband, White Head:

First set of songs:

- 1st song: (A song without words).
- 2nd song: "I am a rock medicine."
- 3rd song: (A song without words).
- 4th song: "I am a rock medicine."

Second set of songs:

- 1st song: "Look at my rocks."
- 2nd song: "Look at my rocks."
- 3rd song: "There in the mountains, look at them."
- 4th song: "There in the mountains, look at them."

After singing the songs belonging to his bundle the owner may sing as many of his own medicine songs as he wishes. This number, however, seldom exceeds seven. The most sacred medicine songs are sung, those received in dreams or visions. A rock medicine owner who is a member of the Fox or Lumpwood Society will also sing one or two songs belonging to that organization. A scout may sing a wolf song, and if one of the singers has been a pipe-holder all the lights in the lodge are extinguished while he sings in total darkness. During this period of darkness the pipe-holder is supposed to sing all of his medicine songs. This darkness reproduces the conditions under which a pipe-holder prays when about to enter enemy country. Then he consults his medicine in a

brush shelter or hut covered with the warriors' robes so that all light is excluded. There, in total darkness, he hopes to receive a vision. Several sun dance songs also are sung during this ceremony. It is the singing of these most sacred and powerful songs, so rarely heard, that makes this ceremony one of the most important among the Crows.

After the first singer has finished his songs, he passes his bundle to the next person on his left. As the medicine passes from one to the other, it is held in both hands and each one present presses it to his heart with a prayer for good luck, health and happiness; kisses the rock, and passes it to the next one on his left. The bundle is handed to both men and women, and even to children who may be present. As it is passed a bead or two is given to it and the hope for good luck is voiced. Some people donate feathers, hoofs, beaver tails, etc. The feast-giver is given blankets and larger donations, including horses.

Finally the bundle again reaches the owner, who replaces it on the buffalo robes. Then the next singer's turn comes. He receives the rattle and eagle wing from the first singer on his right and the rock medicine belonging to him from the feast-giver. Whereupon the same performance is undertaken again—prayer, singing, passing of the medicine etc., with his bundle.

All the rock medicine bundle owners present are not required to open their bundles unless they wish to do so. If the owner of a certain bundle does not wish to open it, his turn simply passes to the next man on his left.

When every rock medicine bundle owner present, who desires so to do, has opened his bundle in this fashion, a rock medicine owner who has the bear for his medicine seats himself in front of the pemmican and sings four bear songs. Then, taking two of the meat balls in his hands, he squats between the first two guests, crosses his arms at the waist, and passes the food to those in front of him. He repeats this action until he has served everyone present with meat.

The eating of this meat concludes the ceremony, which probably has lasted all through the night.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Lowie gave several accounts of the "Cooked Meat Singing" (as he termed it) by different informants which agree in general with Wildschut's description of this ceremony. However, unlike Wildschut, Lowie did not indicate that he had ever attended one of these ceremonies himself. (Lowie, 1924. pp. 349-355).

OPENING OF AN INDIVIDUAL ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

Some years ago the writer was present at the opening of a rock medicine bundle owned by Gray Bull, a Crow living in the Pryor District. This bundle was opened specially for the writer's benefit, after suitable gifts had been made.

The bundle was wrapped in the usual buffalo rawhide cover. Gray Bull took it from the place where it hung on the west wall of his cabin, and then locked the cabin door so that no stranger might enter during the opening ceremony. I sat on the right of Gray Bull. Next to me were his wife, then two more women. On the left side of Gray Bull sat two male relatives, two boys about eight and twelve years old, and Gray Bull's daughter-in-law.

Gray Bull's wife had brought some live embers and placed them before her husband. He sprinkled some sweetgrass on them. After loosening the ties of his bundle, Gray Bull uttered a short prayer. Then he held the bundle three times in the incense arising from the smouldering sweetgrass, moving the bundle up and down. He then opened the bundle, carefully removing its numerous cloth wrappings, took the medicine and held it once again over the smudge, pressed it to his heart, kissed it, and uttered another prayer. He examined the rock carefully and showed great surprise, while an animated conversation among all those present followed.

Gray Bull then handed the medicine to me to inspect it carefully. The stone itself was one of the most interesting rock medicines of the many I have seen. It bore the perfect image of an old woman, with distinct eyes, nose, and opened mouth. Its face was wrinkled and bore an expression of surprise. The base of the rock was wrapped in buckskin dyed red, and from it were suspended numerous fringes covered with beads.

The cause of Gray Bull's surprise and of the conversation which followed I was informed was this: The bundle had not been opened in three years. When last opened, according to those present, the mouth showed some teeth. These had disappeared. According to Mrs. Turns-Back-Twice, who knew this medicine as a child, the rock then showed few wrinkles, and at each successive opening it had worn a more aged expression.

This particular bundle is a household charm, to be opened only in case of illness or a serious scarcity of food. When the necessity for opening occurs, Gray Bull invites all his relatives

and gives a feast. After the bundle is opened each one present takes the rock effigy, prays to it, and kisses it.

Gray Bull finally announced that he had been willing to open his bundle for the white man because he felt that my interest was sincere and was not idle curiosity. However, he would not entertain the idea of parting with his bundle for any consideration.⁴¹

LITTLE NEST'S ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 68

The most powerful rock medicine among the Crows is owned by Little Nest. In his *Religion of the Crow Indians* (pp. 388–389) Dr. Lowie refers to two rock medicines, one said to have been found by Sees-the-Bull's-Member's wife, the other by Medicine Crow's mother. However, these were the same woman, and both references are to this bundle.

Its origin is accounted for as follows:

This rock medicine was found by One-Child-Woman, wife of Sees-the-Living-Bull, mother of Medicine Crow, and stepmother of Little Nest. Sees-the-Living Bull, when still a young man, was married to two women. One of them, One-Child-Woman, he neglected, and she finally became so desperate that she decided to leave him.

Taking her robe and leading her favorite horse, she left camp and went toward the mountains. When some distance from camp she turned her horse loose, saying to it, "I am going to die on this prairie, but you may roam wherever you wish."

She traveled on foot along what is now called Fishtail Creek. Finally she reached the top of a hill where she rested for a while. Suddenly she noticed a glittering object not far away, and she walked to it. Coming close she noticed that it was a remarkable rock with several faces marked upon it. Yet she knew that no Indian had made it. One of these faces resembled her husband, so she thought. Another face was that of a buffalo, a third the face of an eagle, and the fourth resembled a horse. The human face pointed east and the stone was lying in a small depression, surrounded by small stones.

⁴¹ Lowie (1922, p. 388) may have referred to this rock medicine bundle of Gray Bull's as "a little stone on which might be seen or imagined a face. This had been found by a little child and according to my authority had since then grown to twice its original size."

One-Child-Woman realized she had found a remarkable rock which was undoubtedly a powerful medicine. She sat down near the rock and cried. Then she picked it up, and upon closer examination found that it carried marks of horse and buffalo tracks. Carrying the rock with her she descended the hill. There she found a buffalo wallow and a quantity of buffalo wool. She picked up the wool, wrapped the stone in it and fastened it under her dress against her chest.

Slowly she walked toward camp until she was met by her father, Mad-Bull-Wolf, who was out looking for her. He knew that his son-in-law had neglected her and he had suspected something was wrong. He put his daughter on his horse and returned with her to his own tipi. There One-Child-Woman gave the rock she had found to her father. Next morning Mad-Bull-Wolf examined the rock carefully and told his daughter that she had undoubtedly found a great medicine. He kept the medicine rock, but advised her to return to her home, think about the rock, pray to it, and she would have no more trouble with her husband.

Now Sees-the-Living-Bull in his young manhood was a great gambler. In the days that followed, his wife, One-Child-Woman, noticed that he had lost nearly all his property. She then told her husband about the remarkable rock she had found and where it was kept in her father's lodge. Upon hearing this Sees-the-Living-Bull went to his father-in-law's tipi and, finding no one there, took the medicine down from its resting place and carried it to his own tipi, where a big gambling game was in progress.

After returning with the rock medicine Sees-the-Living-Bull's luck changed. He won every succeeding game. He then was sorry that he had handled the rock so roughly and took great care of it. His father-in-law advised him to take the stone with him and go to the mountains to fast. This he did.

For three days and nights he fasted in vain. But on the morning of the fourth day he saw a vision. He seemed to waken and saw around him a circle of light. Then he heard a voice telling him that he now possessed a great medicine. He was told to make the stone into a rock medicine bundle, to open that bundle only when the moon was full or when the birds migrated in spring or fall. He also was told that he would become a leader of war parties and a camp leader; that he would have good luck and live to be an old man.

All of these prophecies came true. Sees-the-Living-Bull be-

came a pipe-holder and a camp leader. He also became a very powerful medicine man. He had dreams in which he saw the coming of cattle and the buildings of the white man in his country long before these things took place. He ceased going to war when he was about 50 years of age. But he made medicine for Red Bear, a famous medicine man, and for Two Leggings. When he became very old he divided his horse herd, and told his relatives he had done so because he had been so instructed in his dream. "I always had plenty of everything", he said, "but now I am soon going to the 'Other Side Camp'. Believe in this rock medicine and you will always be happy and you will never want for the necessities of life."

In October, 1922, after the writer had endeavored for several years to see this bundle opened, Little Nest agreed to open it for his benefit. He deferred the date four days so that the opening ceremony would coincide with the full moon. At the appointed hour the writer, together with Little Nest, his wife, Two Leggings, and Tom Leforge, Sr., gathered in one of the rooms in Little Nest's house, situated about three miles south of Wyola, on the Crow Indian Reservation. Leforge acted as interpreter, and much credit is due to him for his efforts in arranging the bundle opening. Little Nest said that it had never before been shown to any white man.

A canvas had been spread on the floor of the room and the center of it covered with a blanket. Over this blanket was laid an elk skin and on it a small colt skin, to the left of which a small deerskin was placed. Between these hides and the north wall of the room, and covering the place where Little Nest sat during the ceremony, were spread a small calfskin, a male pony skin and a dog skin.

The bundle itself was placed in the center of the colt skin. In front of it rested a pipe and in front of the pipe was a smudge of live embers with a braid of sweetgrass to the right of it. After Little Nest placed some of the sweetgrass on the embers he held the bundle over the rising incense and raised and lowered it four times. Then he replaced it on the colt skin.

Little Nest's wife, who was sitting at his right then purified her hands over the smudge and began to untie the strings of the outer oil cloth wrapper. Inside this cover was a painted buffalo hide parfleche which contained the medicine. Little Nest untied the thongs of the parfleche and placed the contents on the colt

skin. Then followed the careful unwrapping of the many cloth covers which were folded around the medicine. Between these wrappers small offerings of beads and tobacco had been placed.

At last the rock medicine was uncovered. But before touching the sacred rock or any on its decorations Little Nest filled the pipe (placed in front of the bundle) with kinnickinick, lit this, and while pointing it toward the sun, uttered a short prayer, "Take pity on us poor people and let us multiply." Little Nest then offered the stem of his pipe to the four faces on the rock, and then to the sun. Then he again prayed. "You are a person. Smoke with us and protect us. I have been ill and you have cured me. I thank you. You guard us through our trials. Now smoke with us."

After these prayers, Little Nest and Two Leggings painted their hands and faces with the sacred red paint. Mrs. Little Nest painted her hands only, and the paint was handed to Leforge and the writer so that we might paint our hands also. It was explained that no one could touch the sacred rock without first having at least his hands painted red.

Once more Little Nest smudged his hands, filled the pipe, lit it, presented it to the sun, the four faces of the rock medicine, and the four smaller stones inside the bundle. Then he handed the pipe to Two Leggings who repeated the same performance. This ceremony was repeated until the pipe was smoked out.

A short interval followed during which Little Nest told the story of the origin of this rock medicine. Then the ceremony of smoking and offering the pipe to the sun and the rock medicines was repeated by Little Nest and Two Leggings. Finally a fourth smoke was made. This time trade tobacco was mixed with the kinnickinick, and a fresh smudge was started.

Mrs. Little Nest then cut a beaver castor open, squeezed some of the contents on a piece of buffalo wool and handed it to her husband. He rubbed two faces of the rock with it. He then handed the wool to Two Leggings, and he rubbed the other two faces with it, at the same time uttering a prayer. "My Creator, it does me good that I have come to see you once more. Keep our hearts light. Give me what I want, health to my children and long life."

Little Nest then took the medicine in both hands, kissed it, and prayed: "Whoever you are and from wherever you come, help me in supplying my wants. When I am poor and in distress listen to me, you who always brought me good luck."

Two Leggings now offered a final prayer while holding the

medicine in his hands and kissing it: "All my wants and desires have come true. Keep me traveling on the right trail."

Then the medicine was handed to the writer for closer inspection. Permission to photograph the specimen also was granted.⁴²

There was no closing ceremony, but before the medicine was finally wrapped up everyone except Little Nest donated some present to the bundle. Two Leggings took an eagle feather from his hat (saying that it belonged to his own war medicine) and gave it to the bundle. In return he received another eagle feather which had been attached to the rock medicine. Mrs. Little Nest donated a string of modern beads in exchange for a string of old Hudson Bay beads which had been in the bundle for many years. Leforge gave some small change to the bundle. And the writer gave seven old Hudson Bay beads which Little Nest attached to the bundle.

Sees-the-Living-Bull died on May 20, 1906, aged 89. As it is said that this rock medicine was found when he was still a young man, the date of its finding must have been about the year 1840. According to Little Nest the rock was found three miles south of the old Agency on Fishtail Creek, approximately 20 miles south of Columbus, Montana. At the above mentioned place two buttes rise sharply from the river bottom. The rock was found on the top of the left-hand one.

The stone itself is a carved slate, undoubtedly of Pacific Coast Indian manufacture, and probably is of Haida origin. How it came to the Crow country will probably always remain a mystery. It is no wonder, however, that such a remarkable specimen was considered a most powerful medicine among a tribe who neither before nor since have seen a similar piece of workmanship. The writer is of the opinion that this rock was originally used as a pipe. A stem hole is apparent at one of the lower ends. Where the bowl opening should be is now the skin covering of the medicine which, under the circumstances, could not be removed for closer examination. The figures carved on the stone are of the totem kind. It is easy to see that these Indians would attribute

⁴² This photograph was not found during a diligent search of Wildschut's field notes and other data on rock medicine bundles. However, a print from the field negative came to light among some manuscript material entirely unrelated to the subject of rock medicines just before this monograph went to press. Because of the unique importance of this specimen, a halftone reproduction of this print has been added to the illustrations as Figure 68.

the likeness of buffalo, horse and eagle to the three carvings, while the fourth figure undoubtedly represents a human face.

Besides the main rock, the bundle also contained four small stones, which the writer was told were the children of the larger one. Each of these little stones was wrapped in buckskin, leaving a very small part of their surfaces uncovered. The buckskin covers were beaded with representations of buffalo and horse tracks.

Little Nest would not consider parting with his bundle for any remuneration. Therefore, it still (1927) remains in his possession.⁴³

SMELLS' ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 40 AND 41

A rock medicine bundle which the Crows considered to be the oldest and one of the most powerful ones, was obtained from Smells, who lived near Pryor, Montana, in 1922. (CAT. NO. 11/6454).

Plain Feather, another Pryor Indian, gave the following account of this bundle's origin:

"Long ago a party of Crow warriors met with bad luck on the warpath. All but one of them were killed. This lone warrior, while returning to his camp, had a dream in which he saw a stone which changed into a human being and came toward him. This dream person instructed him in the uses of a rock medicine. On awakening, the lone warrior went to the top of a nearby hill and there found the very stone about which he had dreamed the previous night. He carried it home.

"Since that time this rock medicine has been one of the most successful ones ever owned by the Crows. It is thought that the Great Spirit gave this stone to the Indians and that the face on the stone is a natural formation and a symbol of special power."

However, while this bundle was in the writer's possession it was shown to another Pryor Indian named Old Coyote, who told a different story of its origin:

"Long ago a band of Crow Indians out on the warpath traveled far into the night before making camp. The members of this party

⁴³ Lowie did not claim to have seen this rock medicine. In-the-Mouth, a Crow Indian, described it to him as "shaped on one side like a buffalo with a bird on top, on the other like a horse mounted by a little being in human form." (Lowie, 1922. p. 388). Leforge told Marquis about Little Nest's famous rock medicine and mentioned that the owner had refused all offers to sell it. He did not attempt to describe the appearance of this rock medicine. (Marquis. 1928. pp. 193-194).

were so tired that they slept until after sunrise. During that night one of them had a dream and a vision. In it he saw something shining and brilliant. Three times he saw this without being much impressed. But the fourth time it appeared far more brilliant, and it seemed as if someone was singing. Looking more closely he saw a stone which changed into the form of a man.

"Upon awakening he saw a sparkling object which, upon investigation, he found to be the very stone he had dreamed of. He put the stone in his war bag and carried it home. It has always been very successful medicine, regarded by the Crows as one of their most powerful medicine rocks."

Old Coyote explained, "As you can see, this rock medicine has the perfect image of a man. Yet it was not made by Indians." He took the medicine carefully in both hands, pressed it to his heart, then kissed it, and uttered a prayer: "I am praying to you once more. Many years ago you were our protection. You are the same medicine, you whom I hold in my hands. You were then our guarding spirit and a leading protection to the Crows. I kiss you, therefore, you once great old-timer. My heart has the same affection for you. I pray you to give us the same protection as of yore. Protect us from evil and give us health. I pray to you today once more, perhaps for the last time, grant me a few more happy days. May all the world some day know the great protection you were to the Crows many years ago, how you helped us through many difficulties and made the Crows feared and respected among the tribes of the plains. In the name of the Great Spirit, so be it."

Old Coyote then pointed to the nine scalp locks attached to this medicine and explained that they represented nine chiefs killed in battle, and that only chiefs' scalps were permitted to be fastened to this medicine.

Old Coyote also explained that the owner of this bundle, a leader of war parties, always took the bundle with him on the warpath. Before going into battle he invariably consulted this medicine. Whenever possible it was consulted the night before the party expected to meet the enemy. The bundle then would tell the owner the strength of the enemy party, whether there was a chief among them, and if so, whether he would be killed. Whatever its prophesy, it always came true. Whenever an enemy chief was killed one of his scalp locks was attached to this medicine.

This medicine is held in a cylindrical rawhide case 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ " long, decorated in red, blue, and green painted, geometric designs.

The rock medicine proper is wrapped in 21 pieces of various colored calicos. It is of dark colored quartz, its original color being difficult to ascertain because of the red paint with which it is covered. The rock, about $2\frac{1}{4}$ " long, bears the distinct image of a face. (Fig. 41). As all the features are rounded it appears to have been shaped by rubbing rather than cutting. However, the mouth line and the eyes appear to have been incised. It is partly encased in buckskin and attached to a red painted buffalo skin background. The buckskin is decorated with old red beads and dentalia. There are numerous decorative appendages to the buffalo skin background, including strips of winter (white) weasel skin (some of which are colored with red paint), many varieties of large, colored trade beads, pieces of drilled abalone shell, shell disc beads, brass bells, brass thimbles, and the nine scalplocks. (Fig. 40).

A small cloth bag in the bundle contained a red-painted, fossilized ammonite wrapped in buffalo hair. This is the female stone, the main rock being considered a male one. Also in this bundle is a small bag containing sweetgrass used in making the smudge in which the bundle and the hands of the owner are purified during the bundle ceremony. Another cloth bag contains some powdered material, probably ground beaver scent mixed with herbs. This scent is used in all Crow rock medicines.

BIG SKY'S ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 42 AND 43

Old Coyote was shown another rock medicine bundle which was obtained from an old woman named Corn Woman, who died in the summer of 1921. He recognized it as a bundle which formerly belonged to Big Sky. (CAT. NO. 11/5870).

Old Coyote held the bundle to his heart, then kissed it, and prayed: "I adore you for the last time, old departed medicine. I wish to have a handfull of success in all my undertakings. I wish for health during the remainder of my life. I bid you goodbye for the last time."

Old Coyote explained that this bundle had a special taboo. The owner was forbidden to throw away ashes. Old Coyote once accompanied Big Sky on a war party on which the latter took this medicine. At one of their camping places Big Sky thoughtlessly threw away the camp ashes. Shortly afterward he went blind. This, according to Old Coyote, should be a lesson to all Crows to obey religiously any taboos connected with any bundles they might possess.

The container for this medicine is a small ($5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5''$) sack of buffalo hide with a carrying strap of the same material. The rock itself is encased, save for the top end, in red-painted buckskin, one side of which is covered with strings of red, yellow and blue seed beads. The other side (Fig. 42) bears a crude painting of a hand in black. Otherwise the surface of the rock is smooth and bears no resemblance to a human or animal form. Decorations include numerous strips of winter weasel skins (some colored red), and long skin pendants strung with more than 20 different types of large trade beads. This medicine has a suspension cord of braided rawhide, painted red.

This is the only rock medicine known to the writer to bear a painted design. Old Coyote explained that this painted hand was a symbol of success—a whole handfull of it. Big Sky, before he became blind, had been a leader of war parties. He wore this medicine suspended from his neck when going into battle. He gained his “handfull of success” on so many occasions that this bundle was highly respected by the Crows.

PRETTY COYOTE'S ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 44 AND 45

[A rock medicine bundle which Wildschut obtained from Pretty Coyote was forwarded to the museum on November 9, 1921. Although no record is available of the history or the use of this bundle, it is of particular interest because of the variety of rock medicines it contains. (CAT. NO. 10/9771)

There are three different types of rocks in this bundle. In Fig. 44 is shown a simple, rounded pebble $2\frac{1}{4}''$ long, all but the tip of which is encased in a buckskin cover. The cover is decorated with horizontal bands of white, dark blue, light blue, and green seed beads, and with numerous pendant buckskin cords strung with many varieties of large trade beads.

In addition to this rock, the bundle contains the two fossils shown in Fig. 45. At the bottom is an ammonite, 3'' in its greatest diameter. At the top is a baculite, bearing a vague resemblance to a four-footed animal, and painted red. It is $\frac{3}{4}''$ long⁴⁴—JCE].

⁴⁴ Lowie illustrated two rock medicines which he obtained from the Crows, along with the bead offerings accompanying them. One of the rocks is quite remarkable for the fact that it possesses projections resembling a pair of short horns. (Lowie, 1922. pp. 386–387. Figs. 1 and 2).

MEDICINE PIPE BUNDLES

THERE were two principal types of medicine pipe bundles among the Crows: (1), the ceremonial pipes of the Medicine Pipe Society, and (2), the pipe-holders' (*i.e.* war leaders') pipes, which were carried on the warpath as powerful war medicines.

Although the Crows tell a story of its origin, the Medicine Pipe Society is undoubtedly of foreign introduction. The pipes used in their ceremony conform in general design to the elaborately decorated pipestems found among many of the eastern tribes. I am indebted to Foolish Man, leader of the Medicine Pipe Society among the Crows, for the story of the origin of the medicine pipe and a description of the ceremony.

ORIGIN OF THE MEDICINE PIPE SOCIETY

Foolish Man's origin legend is as follows:

"Long before the Crows separated from the Hidatsa, five warriors and a boy went on the warpath. All five of the warriors were killed and the boy was carried off a prisoner by the Sioux. Pretty Pumpkin, sister of the boy, mourned his loss. She went about camp crying for her lost brother, Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head. And everyone pitied this young woman. Tattoed-in-the-Face, a young man who had been in love with the girl, offered to go and find out what had become of her brother and, if possible, to bring his remains back to camp.

"Tattoed-in-the-Face made ready for his journey and supplied himself with provisions. He induced one of his friends to go with him. They followed the trail of the unfortunate war party. Both young men vowed to fast until they came across some sign of the lost warriors. Feeling keenly the loss of their former friend, they cried and prayed to the Great Spirit for his help and guidance. After several days travel they came to the scene of the battle where they found the remains of the five warriors. But they saw no trace of the boy. Tattoed-in-the-Face then knew that the boy had been carried away as a prisoner to the enemy's camp.

"That night Tattoed-in-the-Face went to sleep, using the skull of a buffalo as a resting place for his head. This skull had not yet lost its hair and horns. He had not slept long before he was awakened by a noise, but could not determine its origin. About midnight, however, he got up and discovered that the sound came from the sky. The sound grew louder and seemed to come closer. Looking up toward the heavens Tattoed-in-the-Face saw a man descending from the sky. Watching him closely he saw this man make four stops. During each halt he smoked a pipe. Finally he stood before Tattoed-in-the-Face, holding the pipe in both hands, and spoke to him:

"This is the medicine pipe. Since it came from the sky it must never touch the ground. The blue beads on the stem represent the sky; the white tassels are the streaky clouds bringing rain, and the red tassels, the red clouds of the evening sunset. A duck-head is placed on the stem because when the Great Spirit made the earth it was the duck which brought the first mud from the bottom of the waters which grew into the earth. Owl feathers always should be attached to the pipe, because the owl is a great medicine bird. It can see in the dark and into the future. Eagle feathers should also be represented, because the eagle is the chief of the birds. It is the most powerful, can fly the highest, and yet it can see everything that happens on earth. The white string of beads shall represent the hail stones, and the eagle plume, a dog tail. The dog must be represented on the pipe because the dog is the protector and friend of every person in the world. The stem of the pipe must be of red willow, because the willow is pretty and hard to break. And with the pipe there shall always be an ear of corn, because corn represents the first fruit of the earth.'

"Then the man disappeared, taking his pipe with him. Soon Tattoed-in-the-Face fell asleep again.

"Next morning the two friends continued their journey. When they came to the top of a hill they sat down to rest, and Tattoed-in-the-Face described to his friend the vision he had seen the previous night. Looking over the valley in front of them they saw the enemy's camp. The Sioux were camped in three circles, and in the middle circle the two Crows could see that a sun dance was in progress.

"Then they carefully approached the circles of enemy lodges. Toward sunset they hid in a thick growth of cottonwood trees quite close to the camp. There they discussed how they might

find out where Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head was held prisoner. Tattoed-in-the-Face finally told his companion that he would wait until dark and then go into the camp.

"They did not have to wait long. Darkness soon set in and, as the enemy were celebrating their sun dance ceremony, it was not difficult for Tattoed-in-the-Face to enter the Sioux camp unobserved. He went all around the first circle of tipis, listening and looking for some sign of Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head, but he found nothing that might give him a clue to the boy's presence. He carefully approached the second circle and continued his search from tipi to tipi, but, again, in vain. The search of the third circle was no more rewarding. No sign of the boy could he find anywhere.

"At last Tattoed-in-the-Face approached the sun dance lodge built in the center of the camp. The Sioux were singing and dancing, and did not see him. Occasionally the noise would stop, and during one of those pauses Tattoed-in-the-Face heard sounds of groaning and moaning. They seemed to come from the top of the sun dance lodge. Looking up he saw the unfortunate boy hanging at the top of the lodge. The Sioux had cut holes through his hands and through the muscles of his back and had tied him at the top of their lodge.

"As soon as Tattoed-in-the-Face learned where the boy was he went back to his companion. On his way through the camp he stole two of the best horses and, with them, safely reached his friend. He gave one of these horses and an elk necklace he had worn to his friend. He told him he had located the boy and that he was going to save him or die in the attempt. He told his friend to return to the Crows, give the elk tooth necklace to Pretty Pumpkin and tell her all that had happened. He should console the girl by telling her that he was sure he would be able to rescue her brother and to bring him back safely.

"After the two friends parted, Tattoed-in-the-Face tied the other horse in the brush and went back into the Sioux camp. He reached the sun dance lodge again without any trouble. While the drums were beating and everyone was singing, he began to climb the lodge pole and finally reached the top. He could now touch Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head and could talk to him.

"When the boy asked him if he had come to his rescue, Tatoed-in-the-Face replied that he would save him or die with him. Then Tattoed-in-the-Face carefully cut the strings with which the boy

was tied to the poles, and as the boy was very weak, he lifted him onto his back and began to descend. Four times Tattoed-in-the-Face was forced to halt for fear the enemy might hear them. He reached the ground safely, and still carrying the boy on his back, passed the first and second circles of tipis. But just as he passed the third one, an old woman came out of a tipi, saw Tattoed-in-the-Face carrying the boy, and shouted the alarm.

"Tattoed-in-the-Face had been told by the boy that he had been placed at the top of the Sioux sun dance lodge as a sacrifice to the sun. When he saw the Indians running toward them from all directions Tattoed-in-the-Face realized that there was little hope of either of them escaping death. Seeing a tipi close by, he ran into it, still carrying the boy. Inside this tipi, hanging from one of the lodge poles he saw a bundle which looked exactly like the one he had seen in his vision. He took the bundle in his arms, and with the boy still on his back, sat down near one edge of the tipi.

"The Sioux warriors, carrying their weapons, crowded into the tipi eager to kill the two Crows. The head chief also entered, but when he saw Tattoed-in-the-Face holding the medicine pipe bundle he told his warriors that it surely would bring great misfortune to the tribe if they killed this man.

"The Sioux then called a council of chiefs and warriors. They gave food and water to the two Crows before they announced their decision. A Crow prisoner acted as their interpreter.

"Seven buffalo skulls were brought in and placed in line about five feet apart from one another, and on the last two skulls a tipi pole was placed lengthwise. Tattoed-in-the-Face was told that if he could step from one skull to the other and walk the length of the pole without falling, he and Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head would be free to return to their people. But if he failed, he would be cut up alive.

"At that moment the oldest chief of the Sioux came in and said that he would provide himself with the fastest horse of the tribe, dress himself in his finest war clothes and arm himself with his best weapons. If Tattoed-in-the-Face succeeded in walking across the skulls and pole, he then must fight the old chief. And if he defeated the chief he could take his fine clothes, weapons, horse and scalp and go free. The old chief waited a little beyond the last skull in the row.

"Tattoed-in-the-Face, who still had his own bow and arrows,

prepared himself for battle in case he should succeed in passing over the skulls. He began to sing his medicine song, 'Sun come to me. I am in trouble.' While singing he pointed to the four corners of the heavens, and lastly directly toward the sun. He repeated his song four times. Although he carried no paint with him he moved his hand from cheek to cheek and over his forehead, and a bright circle appeared on his face. At the end of each song he feinted as if to start his passage over the skulls. At the end of the fourth song he raised his finger, pointed toward the sun, and called out, 'I am a medicine man.'

"Thereupon he stepped on the first skull and continued to pass safely over all seven skulls, including walking the length of the lodge pole, at the same time still carrying Young-Buffero-Calf-Head on his back. As soon as he reached the end of the row of skulls, he made ready to battle the old chief. As the old chief came toward him, Tattoed-in-the-Face raised his bow and arrows. He hit the chief with his first shot, the arrow piercing the old Sioux's heart. Then Tattoed-in-the-Face quickly took the chief's clothing, weapons, horse and scalp. He also took the medicine pipe, placed Young-Buffero-Calf-Head on the horse behind him, and rode away. The Sioux were left to mourn the death of their chief.

"Some nights later Tattoed-in-the-Face and Young-Buffero-Calf-Head reached the Crow camp. They halted outside the camp and Tattoed-in-the-Face went alone among the tipis, leaving the boy and the things he had brought from the Sioux outside. Nearing the lodge of Pretty Pumpkin he heard someone crying and soon recognized that it was the girl. Silently he entered the tipi and said to her, 'Pretty Pumpkin, cry no more. I have brought your brother back to you. He is alive and well.'

"Hearing this, the girl jumped up and asked Tattoed-in-the-Face if he really spoke the truth. He replied, 'I do. Let us go and see him.' Then Pretty Pumpkin embraced and kissed him. Together they went to the lodge of the young man who had accompanied Tattoed-in-the-Face to the Sioux camp. The three of them proceeded to the spot where Young-Buffero-Calf-Head was waiting. Brother and sister rejoiced in their reunion, and Young-Buffero-Calf-Head told the story of his captivity and of his brave rescue by Tattoed-in-the-Face. The latter gave the Sioux's horse to the boy and the scalp to Pretty Pumpkin.

"All four remained outside the camp that night. About sunrise

next morning Tattoed-in-the-Face mounted the horse with the boy behind him and rode into camp. This was a day of great feasting and merry-making in the Crow camp. It was also the day upon which Pretty Pumpkin became the wife of Tattoed-in-the-Face.

"That evening Tattoed-in-the-Face gathered around him all the chiefs and warriors of the camp. He told them about his vision of the medicine pipe and how it had saved his life and that of Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head. He told them that the medicine pipe was a pipe of peace; that he who owned it could travel from tribe to tribe and be received as a friend. No Indian would dare to violate an oath taken upon this pipe. Furthermore, in very inclement weather the medicine pipe could be fastened to the top of the tipi pole and an improvement in the weather soon would take place."⁴⁵

CEREMONY OF THE MEDICINE PIPE SOCIETY

Foolish Man, leader of the Medicine Pipe Society among the Crows, offered the following information regarding the ceremony of opening the bundle:

In this ceremony a buffalo skull is placed facing the rising sun. A feast is prepared, representing the food given to Tattoed-in-the-Face and Young-Buffalo-Calf-Head in the enemy's camp. A small piece of food is held up as an offering to the four corners of the earth, to the sun, the pipe, the feathers, and the skull, and it is finally deposited inside the buffalo skull. Then four songs are sung, the words consisting of a repetition of the word "Eat". The pipe is then placed on the buffalo skull, which in turn rests upon a tanned hide, as the pipe itself must not be allowed to touch the ground.

The leader of the ceremony then takes the pipe in his hands, holds it again to the four corners of the earth, while singing four times, "Father, give us luck always."

After each song the leader puts some tobacco in the pipe, lights it, and again points it to the east, west, south, and north, then passes it to the other members of the society. Another song,

⁴⁵ Lowie gave two brief origin legends accounting for the medicine pipe, which he obtained from Crow informants. These stories differ from each other and from the origin legend recited to Wildschut by Foolish Man, as well. (Lowie, 1924. pp. 339-340).

one without words, is sung four times by all the members of the society to the accompaniment of a drum. During this song the leader holds the pipe in his left hand and a rattle in his right one.

The next song of the ceremony is the dance song, consisting of the words, "My children", repeated four times. It is followed by four songs without words, during which time preparations are made for the eagle dance in which all members of the society take part.

When a member of the tribe has had some great trouble, sickness or misfortune, he may vow that if he recovers he will become a member of the Medicine Pipe Society. His adoption takes place during the next bundle opening ceremony. Following the eagle dance, the candidate for adoption is placed within the circle of members. He is dressed in new clothes and stands on a cross of slough grass. Water is poured over his head four times. The first stream is allowed to run down over his forehead and breast. The subsequent streams, down his back and over his right and left shoulders.

Inside the medicine bundle one will sometimes find one or more eagle plumes attached to the inevitable ear of corn. Each plume represents one adoption made into the society while the pipe is in the possession of a particular leader of ceremonies. During the adoption ceremonies one of these eagle plumes is attached to the back of the head of the candidate.⁴⁶

ROTTEN BELLY'S MEDICINE PIPE BUNDLE

PLATE 4 AND FIGURE 46

[What may be regarded as the most famous medicine pipe bundle in Crow Indian history is not described in Wildschut's manuscript, although he collected it for this museum 38 years ago. Wildschut's correspondence under date of September 25, 1922, lists among the Crow specimens which he was forwarding to the museum a "Med. Pipe obtained from Chief Plenty-Coos [Coups], former owner Chief Sharp Horn, originally belonging to Chief *Arapoosh*." (CAT. NO. 11/6455).

⁴⁶ Lowie's more detailed description of the Crow medicine pipe ceremony stresses the facts that the primary purpose of the ritual was the adoption of new members and that *two* decorated pipe stems were employed in this ceremony. Lowie was informed that there were about 25 members of this society among the Crows in 1910. (Lowie, 1924. pp. 335-348).

DECORATED CEREMONIAL PIPESTEM FROM ROTTEN BELLY'S MEDICINE PIPE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. II/6455. LENGTH, $31\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

Both Lowie (1924, p. 335) and Curtis (1909, Vol. IV, p. 179) have pointed out that the medicine pipe ceremony of the Crows was obtained from their horticultural kinsmen, the Hidatsa. Furthermore, Curtis was told by Crow informants a half-century ago that the ritual was first obtained by the Crows in the year 1825, while they were attending a council on Knife River at the time of the negotiation of the first Crow treaty with the United States. At that time Long Hair, the principal chief of the Mountain Crows, and Rotten Belly, head chief of the River Crows, the two major divisions of the tribe, were adopted into the Medicine Pipe Society by the Hidatsa.

This bundle, attributed to *Arapoosh* (Rotten Belly), therefore, may be the first and the oldest medicine pipe bundle of the Crows.

Inside seven successive cloth wrappings, this bundle contains two elaborately decorated pipe stems. The handsomest of these is shown in full color in Plate 4. The stem is a round willow tube $31\frac{3}{4}$ " in length. The head of a duck is tied to the front (bowl) end of this stem with sinew cord and is wrapped with red flannel. Much of the central and mouth end of the stem is wrapped with strung "pony" beads, the large size embroidering beads favored by the Crows in the early part of the 19th century. Red-dyed horsehair pendants are tied to the stem behind the duck head. A fan-shaped pendant of 11 eagle feathers (also dyed red) is suspended from the center of the stem.

The second pipe stem (Fig. 46) differs little from the first, save in the fact that it is shorter (being $29\frac{3}{4}$ " long), and lacks the wrapping of pony beads.

There are no pipe bowls in the bundle. The stems were, of course, the sacred heart of these medicine pipe bundles.—JCE]

PIPE-HOLDERS' PIPE BUNDLES

Medicine pipes differing in type from the elaborate calumets employed in the Medicine Pipe Ceremony, were carried by the leaders of Crow war parties. These pipe-holders' pipes included both wooden stem and stone bowl. They originated in visions which provided their owners instructions for their construction and their use.

STANDING BULL'S MEDICINE PIPE

FIGURES 47 AND 48

A medicine pipe bundle obtained from White Bear in 1923, belonged to his grandfather, Standing Bull, a famous chief among the Crows about 50 years earlier. (CAT. NO. 11/7698).

The stem and bowl are shown together in Fig. 48, and enlarged reproduction of the bowl, alone, in Fig. 47. The stem is a short one, $13\frac{1}{4}$ " , and is simply an undecorated willow tube $\frac{5}{8}$ " in its largest diameter. The bowl is a tubular one of red stone $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long and 1" in its largest diameter. Seven small cup-like indentations on the bowl represent the dipper. The incised lines near the front of the bowl symbolize the stars in general. An incised zigzag line represents lightning.

The pointing of this pipe toward the enemy by the leader of the Crow war party was thought to cause death just as surely as would a stroke of lightning.

PRETTY COYOTE'S MEDICINE PIPE

FIGURES 49 AND 50

[On September 25, 1922 William Wildschut forwarded to the museum a medicine pipe obtained from Pretty Coyote which once belonged to an unidentified grandfather. (CAT. NO. 11/6456).

Stem and bowl are shown together in Fig. 50, while the bowl alone, is portrayed at a larger scale in Fig. 49. The tubular, wooden stem is $35\frac{1}{2}$ " long. The forepart of it is wrapped in rawhide and sinew. Bound to the afterportion are various feathers, and pendant from the center of the stem are a braid of sweetgrass and a battered eagle feather.

The bowl is a smoke-blackened, stone tube $3\frac{1}{2}$ " long and $\frac{7}{8}$ " in greatest diameter. Its only decoration is a wrapping of sinew around the stem end. Originally a small stone plug, fitted into this bowl, served as a crude tobacco filter. However, this plug was not found with the specimen.—JCE]

LOVE MEDICINE BUNDLES

A MEDICINE extensively used among the Crows, yet jealously guarded and hard to obtain, is the love medicine bundle. It is a personally-owned bundle, generally obtained in a vision undertaken as a result of the grief caused by unrequited love. Both men and women possessed these medicines and with them sought to attract the person of his or her choice, tried to regain the affection of an unfaithful wife or husband, or to revive a lost love.

WEASEL MOCCASIN'S LOVE MEDICINE EFFIGIES NOT ILLUSTRATED

Weasel Moccasin, at one time one of the best-known Crow medicine men, is said to have employed a love medicine which contained two buckskin dolls, one male and the other female. Attached to these dolls were a number of small packages which contained various herbs. When the medicine was not in use, Weasel Moccasin kept the dolls wrapped in a rawhide container tied together face to face.

When a woman approached him hoping to gain the love of the man of her choice through the power of his medicine, Weasel Moccasin would unwrap his bundle, perform a certain ritual, face the woman in the direction of the man's tipi, place the male doll at the back of her head, and sing certain medicine songs. If the request for assistance was made by a man the ritual was the same, except that the female doll was placed behind the man's head.

TRAVEL'S LOVE MEDICINE ROBE OF ELKSKIN FIGURE 51

An interesting love medicine was obtained from Smells in 1922. Its original owner was Travels. (CAT. NO. 11/6625).

Travels was already a middle-aged man when he fell in love with a girl several years his junior. However, she refused his

attentions and told him to leave her alone. Then Travels went to the mountains and fasted. He stayed four days, but received no vision, and returned to camp. He renewed his courting of the girl, but again met with failure. So he again went to the mountains to fast, choosing a high peak in the Crazy Mountains north of present Livingston, Montana. There he stayed for five days. And this time he received a vision.

In his vision Travels saw an elk standing in a river. Presently it walked up to him and changed into a human being. This elk-person wore an elk skin robe and carried a bone whistle. He stopped within a few feet of Travels and told him to watch his actions. First he turned toward the north and blew his whistle. As he did this, lightning seemed to dart from his mouth. Then he sang: "I am looking. I am the medicine man of the wilderness."

As he sang female animals of all species appeared from the direction in which he gazed and they walked toward him. Again he whistled, this time facing south, and sang a second song: "I am Famous Elk. I am living in the clouds." Again Travels saw females of all species coming toward the elk-man from the direction he faced. Famous Elk then turned to Travels and said to him, "When you go home make a robe like that which I am wearing now. Paint it as this one is painted. Put it on and walk in front of the girl you love. Sing my songs and whistle. She will not refuse you again."

Then the elk-person sang one more song: "When I talk it rains." Immediately a thunderstorm approached, lightning and rain came. Then he told Travels that he also would have the power to make rain whenever he wished to do so.

The vision then disappeared. Travels awoke and returned to camp. He killed a large bull elk and made the robe just as he had seen it in his vision. Soon after he finished the robe he used it to charm the girl he loved. The next day this girl came to his tipi and became his wife. Travels died about the year 1900, aged nearly 100 years.

This elkskin medicine robe (Fig. 51) is 92" wide across the center. On the skin are painted a bull elk following a female one. Both animals are rendered in blue outlines filled with yellow and some red extending from the male's mouth down the front of its body. The red represents lightning, symbolized again by the two large red spots over the animals. The upper part of the robe is painted a solid yellow with a narrow red line border. This re-

presents clouds. Elk tracks, painted blue, extend below the figures from the right side of the robe to its center.⁴⁷

FOG'S LOVE MEDICINE ROBE OF ELKSKIN

See FIGURES 52 AND 53

Another love medicine robe was obtained from Bear Below in the year 1924. This medicine originated in the vision of a Crow Indian named Fog. (CAT. NO. 12/7781).

When he was about 20 to 22 years of age Fog went to the mountains to fast. On the morning of the fifth day he saw a vision. A bull elk appeared to him coming through a river. It walked to the edge of the timber, halted in front of Fog, and changed into a human being, and spoke: "I am the medicine elk. Whenever I want a woman I can make the one I love best come to me."

As he spoke the elk-person paraded in front of Fog, turning his body to left and right. He was wearing a painted elk robe, and sang: "I am Medicine Elk. I am staying in the mountains." As he sang a female otter emerged from its hole near the river, and, coming closer, changed into a woman and stood beside the elk.

"When you want the woman you love to come to you," said the elk-man to Fog, "do as I have done. Make a robe of elkskin, paint it like the one I am wearing, and parade in front of the woman you want. Sing the song I have just given you, and she will come to you. Before wearing the robe, however, smudge it, as well as yourself, with the smoke of mountain holly."

On returning to camp, Fog made the robe and painted it in accordance with the instructions received in his vision. He is said to have used this robe successfully, and also to have lent it on many occasions to other Indians for similar purposes and with equal success. After his death this robe was inherited by an elder brother of Bear Below, and Bear Below inherited it upon his brother's death.

This elkskin robe (Fig. 52) is 66" wide across the center. A narrow yellow stripe borders the entire robe. A yellow spot in the

⁴⁷ Lowie apparently saw and briefly described this robe: "At Pryor I saw a robe of elk hide on which was depicted a female elk in front of a male. This blanket, I was told, had been dreamt by a man eager to possess a woman who had spurned him. After going to the mountains and praying, he saw the robe in a vision and subsequently captivated the girl with it." (Lowie, 1922. p. 425).

center of the robe symbolize's the female otter's home. Above it are painted the female otter in solid blue and bull elk in blue outline and blue and yellow filler colors. The jagged blue line between the mouth of the otter and the elk represents the path taken by the otter toward the elk.

The rendering of this elk (Fig. 53) differs from that one painted on Travel's robe. Only two legs are indicated and the proportions of the neck and body are less realistic. Nevertheless, the predominant use of blue and yellow colors in the painting of the elk figure is similar to the painting on Travels' robe.

Fastened to the robe above the elk figure is the ear of an elk with a single eagle feather pendant from it at the end of a long, yellow-painted, braided buckskin cord. This represents the body of the elk who gave Fog his medicine. The fanning of the feather by the wind (when the robe is worn) symbolizes the turning and parading of the male in front of the female.⁴⁸

STANDING ELK'S LOVE MEDICINE FLUTE

NOT ILLUSTRATED

The Trail gave an interesting account of Standing Elk's reputed experiences with a love medicine flute which was believed to have elk power:

"Standing Elk, a young Crow, was in love with a girl of his tribe. He had asked her repeatedly to marry him, but always in vain. One day he met her on the bank of a river and asked her again to marry him. She still refused, telling him that she wanted to have nothing more to do with him and desired him to stop annoying her.

"After the girl left the river bank, Standing Elk sat down and cried, burying his face in his hands. Presently he heard the sound of wading in the river, and looking up, he saw an elk coming toward him. Standing Elk watched the animal and saw it raise its front hoof, point it in the direction of the camp, and sing a song. Then the elk whistled toward the four world quarters with a wooden flute which it carried in its mouth. Each time the elk whistled in any direction a nice-looking young girl appeared. Finally the elk said to Standing Elk, 'Do as I have shown you and the girl will come to you.'

⁴⁸ This love medicine was first described in *Indian Notes*. (Wildschut, 1925b. pp. 211-214).

"After Standing Elk saw this vision he returned to his tipi. He made no medicine and did not try to charm the girl he loved. Yet through the power of the elk she came to his tipi and asked him to marry her. Instead, Standing Elk took her by the arm and put her out of his tipi.

"The elk medicine given to Standing Elk comprised both the top tassels of a certain grass and a flute. After refusing the girl Standing Elk cut a branch of a pine tree and made a flute from it. He painted it all over with yellow paint and traced the design of an elk upon it. Around the mouthpiece he wrapped a strip of yellow-painted otter skin. He tied a little twig on it the same length as the flute, and an eagle plume to represent the tassel of grass. After the flute was finished, he made a smudge of yellow moss, held the flute over it, and also smudged himself.

"Standing Elk then went through the camp at night blowing his flute in all directions and pretty young women came to him. Soon everyone knew that Standing Elk, the rejected suitor, had become a great charmer of women.

"One day some Gros Ventres visited the Crows, and among them was a woman named Mink Woman. She was very ugly, had only one eye, and carried an infant with her. Her presence was considered very strange to the Crows. They asked her why she had come to visit them. She replied that she had come to marry Standing Elk and that he would be her slave. The people laughed at her, knowing that Standing Elk could always attract the prettiest girls in the tribe, while she was one-eyed and ugly.

"One evening while the Gros Ventres were still among the Crows, Standing Elk made medicine with his flute. To his surprise no girls came to him. Meanwhile the Gros Ventre woman, whose medicine was a stuffed mink, made a smudge and incensed herself and her medicine. Then she fixed her bed, and pointing the mink in the direction of Standing Elk's tipi, she gradually moved it toward her until it was beside her on the bed.

"Standing Elk again tried to make medicine, but without success. He wrapped up his medicine flute and tied it to the rear pole of his tipi. Then he went outside and gradually wandered in the direction of the Gros Ventre woman's lodge, entered it, and married her.

"When the Gros Ventres returned to their own country Standing Elk went with them, leaving his medicine flute behind. Visiting Crows later brought back word that he was still married to Mink

Woman and that they had seen him nursing her baby. He appeared to have completely forgotten his own tribe. But Standing Elk had among the Crows a very close friend for whom he had made a copy of his own medicine flute. This man announced that he was going to visit the Gros Ventres and try to induce his friend to return to the Crows. Soon thereafter he joined a party of Crows who were going to the Gros Ventres. He took with him his own elk medicine as well as that of Standing Elk. As soon as the Crows arrived at the Gros Ventre camp this friend inquired where Standing Elk was living. He visited Standing Elk and told him how he was neglecting himself and his appearance, saying that it looked very bad for so handsome a man to be married to an ugly woman. Yet no amount of talk seemed to make any impression on Standing Elk.

"His friend then returned to his tipi, boiled some water and put into it the willow branch which was tied to Standing Elk's flute. Then the Crows went together to Standing Elk's tipi. As they came in sight of his lodge they sang four songs. After the fourth song they entered the tipi. Mink Woman was there. She offered to cook her husband's friends a meal, but they declined, saying that they had just finished eating and had come only to visit their friend.

"Unseen by Mink Woman, Standing Elk was then made to drink some of the willow water prepared by his friend. As he drank the Crows began to sing, and while singing Standing Elk's friend stood up, unwrapped his flute and suddenly pushed it down Standing Elk's throat. This action made Standing Elk violently ill. He vomited. Then he stood up, stretched himself and declared that he felt better. He asked his friends to sing for him again, saying that he seemed to have entirely forgotten his tribe lately. The Crows sang a second song, after which Standing Elk said, 'Let us leave here.'

"Mink Woman, who had become very restless, then tried to use witchcraft. But the Crows ran away taking Standing Elk with them. That Mink Woman made some medicine by which she hoped to prevent Standing Elk from leaving her seemed to be proven by the fact that, as the Crows ran, Standing Elk seemed suddenly to wade in sticky mud, even though the ground was dry and solid. However, he managed to reach the river's edge and as soon as his feet touched the water he was transformed into an elk.

"Standing Elk faced upstream and then downstream. He

washed his body thoroughly, returned to shore, and resumed the shape of a human being. Standing Elk now had acquired the power to counteract Mink Woman's medicine and influence. He returned to the Crows with his friends."⁴⁹

FLAT LIP'S LOVE MEDICINE FLUTE

FIGURE 54

[On December 31, 1923, William Wildschut forwarded to the museum a love medicine flute which he had obtained from a Crow Indian named Flat Lip. His correspondence of that date states that Flat Lip formerly owned a painted robe similar to CAT. NO. 11/6625 (Fig. 51), which went with this flute. However, he had disposed of the robe years earlier.

This flute (Fig. 54, lower specimen) is CAT. NO. 12/6399. It is a wooden tube 15" long, with a single hole in the top. The surface of the tube has been lightly rubbed with green paint; and meandering lines, filled with red paint, are incised on both top and bottom surfaces. To the front of the tube is tied a buckskin cord strung with 14 identical, large, speckled trade beads and an eagle-feather pendant. The base of this feather is wrapped in light blue and red seed beads.—JCE]

LONG TAIL'S LOVE MEDICINE FLUTE

FIGURE 54

[A love-medicine flute which Wildschut obtained from Long Tail in 1927, appears to resemble more closely the one described in the story of Standing Elk. (CAT. NO. 15/3268).

This flute (Fig. 54, top) is a wooden tube 40" long, with a wrapping of otter fur extending for a distance of 11" from a point 6½" from the front of the tube. This flute also has a single hole, which is wrapped with sinew on either side of it to prevent the tube from splitting. A buckskin cord with eagle-feather pendant hangs from the front of the flute.—JCE]

⁴⁹ Another version of this story is told in Lowie's *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians*. (Lowie, 1918, pp. 196-199). The hero of that story was All-the-Time-Coming, he was given both an elk flute and a painted elk skin robe as his love medicine, and the ugly woman who gained power over him temporarily was a Crow of another band. Otherwise the story is much the same as the one told to Wildschut by The Trail.

LONG TAIL'S LOVE MEDICINE EFFIGY AND HEADDRESS

FIGURES 55 AND 56

[With Long Tail's love-medicine flute (Fig. 54, top) Wildschut collected a rawhide elk effigy and a love medicine headdress. His correspondence of May 22nd, 1927, the date on which these three items were forwarded to the museum, states: "When used, the Indian goes about naked except for his breech cloth and paints his arms and hands from the elbow down with black paint, similarly his feet and legs, from the knee down."

The elk effigy (CAT. NO. 15/3260) is cut from a piece of rawhide and measures $9\frac{1}{4}$ " long. One surface is painted dark blue and yellow. There is a buckskin loop at the top center of the figure for suspension or attachment of the cut-out. Although this rawhide effigy definitely represents a bull elk, the style of figure varies somewhat from that of the painted elks on the two robes previously described. It resembles most closely the elk painted on robe, CAT. NO. 12/7781. It is noteworthy that the same colors, blue and yellow, are used in the painting of this effigy and in the coloring of the elk figures on both of the elkskin robes.

The elk headdress (CAT. NO. 15/3258) accompanying the effigy consists of a skin cap (hair side out) to which are tied a pair of antlers which are rubbed with green paint. (Fig. 56). The brow band of the cap is of trade ribbon with an edging of red flannel. Small brass bells are attached to the top of the cap.—JCE]

OLD CROW'S LOVE CHARMING BELT

FIGURE 57

[On December 26, 1922, William Wildschut forwarded to the museum a belt used as a love medicine, which he obtained from Old Crow. (CAT. NO. 11/6611).

This belt is 52" long and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " wide. The base is of red flannel. It is covered with the leg skins of an elk with the hoofs attached. Pendant buckskin cords, strung with large trade beads and a vertical row of pearl buttons (center) decorate this belt.—JCE]

ELK LOVE MEDICINE OF SHORT'S WIFE

NOT ILLUSTRATED

A Crow story tells of the success of the wife of an unfaithful husband in regaining his love through her use of elk medicine.

An Indian named Short left his wife and children to live with another woman. Sometime later Short and his new wife joined a party of buffalo hunters. The herd was at some distance from the village so that the hunters camped away from it. Short's former wife followed the hunters, notwithstanding the warning of many people who told her that it was a disgraceful act, and, should her former husband see her, he undoubtedly would scold her. Short's wife would not listen to them.

When evening came and the buffalo hunting party built a big fire, she walked into their camp. As soon as her former husband saw her he began to scold her. All the others in the hunting party left the fire and Short's wife remained there alone. When she left she became lost in the dark and did not find her way back to camp until late the next day.

When fall came her former husband again went out with a small hunting party away from camp. Again Short's discarded wife walked into their camp by the evening fire. Her husband called her many bad names, and the others left her alone. This time, however, she stayed by the fire, fell asleep, and had a dream. In her dream she saw a male elk who gave her the pitch of a pine tree and yellow moss for her medicine and incense. The elk told her to take the pitch, put part of it on herself and part on her beloved husband. "If you do this, you will never be separated from him until death."

The elk carried a flute. He faced north, sang a song, blew on his flute, and her husband appeared in front of her. The elk turned in every direction, repeating this ritual, and each time her husband came toward her.

The woman returned to camp overjoyed. She obtained some moss and pitch, built a fire, used the moss for incense, and smudged herself and the pitch. She took some young willows, smudged them, and made a bed on the left side of the fire. Shortly thereafter Short walked into her tipi and laid down on the bed. She went to him, rubbed part of the pine pitch on him and part upon herself. From that time until this woman died Short remained faithful to her.

ANTELOPE LOVE MEDICINE POWER

Although the elk is primarily the giver of love medicines among the Crows, elk is not the only supernatural being to pro-

vide these medicines. The giver of Weasel Moccasin's love medicine dolls mentioned earlier is not known, but certainly it was not elk. A medicine headdress owned by White-Man-Runs-Him had love medicine power obtained from the buffalo spirit.

Another small but interesting love medicine bundle was owned by Rock Chief. As brought out in the story of the origin of this medicine, told by Old Coyote, its power was obtained from the antelope.

Rock Chief, a rather flightly young man, went out hunting and came upon an antelope. He watched it for a while from a distance, saw it urinate, and plainly detected the smell of a certain herb. Then the antelope brayed, and a number of female antelopes came toward it. Rock Chief drew closer cautiously, and when within a short distance from the male antelope, he killed it. Upon examining it he found that it had strangely deformed horns.

Rock chief took the horns back to camp. Then he went to the mountains and obtained some herbs of the kind whose perfume he had smelled when he first saw the antelope. After that he carried the horns on his person wrapped in some of these herbs. Whenever he wished to attract a certain woman he had no difficulty in winning her. Rock Chief was not a good-looking man, but he always had very pretty wives. He married several times during his lifetime.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Lowie's brief description of Crow love medicines stresses a man's use of elk power to make himself irresistible to a woman who spurned him, and a woman's employment of songs and odorous herbs to regain the affection of a husband who had deserted her. (Lowie, 1922. pp. 424-425).

WITCHCRAFT MEDICINE BUNDLES

WITCHCRAFT, as practiced quite extensively among the Crows, was closely allied to love medicine practice. Unfaithfulness usually created a desire for revenge in the heart of the one who had been robbed of the loved one. In such cases witchcraft was most often directed against the one with whom the loved one had eloped or had had secret affairs.

The writer once was shown an herb which was said to have the power to make people bleed to death. Smelling this herb caused the nose to bleed, and once started the bleeding could not be stopped. The owner of this herb would not let me try it on myself.

Witchcraft bundle owners are feared because they are so frequently induced to employ their supernatural powers against weaker members of the tribe. Owing to the great secrecy surrounding the use of witchcraft bundles, very little detailed information could be obtained concerning them.

One witchcraft bundle was originally owned by Bear Rectum, also known as Standing Bull, whose medicine was the sun and ghosts. This bundle contained a flat red stone, representing the sun, and a large oblong stone, symbolic of the mouse. The mouse was regarded as an evil spirit, a stealer of things, by whose aid witchcraft was performed. Other stones in the bundle represented skulls or ghosts.

The writer has also found among the Crows medicines which were believed to be able to ward off the evil influence of witchcraft when the owner suspected that witchcraft was being used against him secretly.

Three different practices of witchcraft were noted:

1. *Matushtuna*, putting something in the body (*i.e.* hurting someone constitutionally).
2. *Matsanatua*, getting the arms (*i.e.* hurting materially, bringing bad luck or causing it to happen, not being able to use the arms for work).
3. *Makomiriaw*, transforming parties (*i.e.* shamanistic contests).

No. 1. was practiced by both men and women. Nos. 2 and 3 were practiced only by men. Dr. Lowie's account in his *Religion*

of the *Crow Indians* (p. 344), fully covers the uses of 2 and 3 above. The Crows considered it perfectly legitimate to employ witchcraft in shamanistic contests in which one powerful man sought to test his supernatural powers against those of another Crow thought to possess other strong powers. The Crows considered these contests akin to those in which the supernaturals themselves gambled.

Of the first category of witchcraft, I obtained two accounts. As the parties concerned in the second account are still alive (1927), I have omitted their names.

Mrs. The Trail told of a Crow named Crazy-Sister-in-Law who married a very good-looking young woman called Has-Good-Things. The husband was very fond of his wife and gave her many things dear to the heart of an Indian woman.

However, Has-Good-Things was secretly courted by a young man named Bitter Water. So secretly did these two lovers meet that for a long time no one suspected her, and she was considered a virtuous woman. Then one day the two were caught by Crazy-Sister-in-Law's sister. She immediately told her brother, and Has-Good-Things fled to the tipi of her parents. Her husband, however, still loved her and brought her back, even though this procedure laid him open to ridicule in his tribe.

Crazy-Sister-in-Law declared, however, that he would have his revenge upon Bitter Water. He took many presents to Yellow-Buffalo-Bull, one of the tribe's best-known medicine men, and asked him to make medicine against his wife's lover. Yellow-Buffalo-Bull cleared a space of ground and drew on it the picture of a man, saying that it represented Bitter Water. In his ceremony he sang certain medicine songs and gradually erased the picture from the hips down, finishing by building a smudge over the image.⁵¹

Shortly thereafter Bitter Water became ill, he had difficulty in walking, and he finally became paralyzed from the waist down. When camp was moved he had to be carried on a travois. His appearance changed. From a handsome young man he became old and ugly. His hair became bushy and hard. Within a comparatively short time he died.

The second story of witchcraft refers to a more recent occurrence:

⁵¹ Lowie (1922, p. 345) also cited the Crow shaman's custom of drawing a picture of the enemy and subsequent destruction of the picture in the ritual for working evil magic.

The wife of a young Crow eloped with another member of the tribe. Her husband was so grieved that he mourned himself to death. The man who eloped with this woman left her shortly thereafter and married another girl. This wife, however, was secretly courted by another man. When the mother of the man who had mourned himself to death heard that the new wife of the man who had eloped with her son's wife was unfaithful, she called her other three grown sons to her and discussed with them how they might avenge their brother's death.

They decided to see the lover of the woman and to induce him to court her openly, and thus cause grief to the husband. The lover was willing. Next evening he took the woman out, stayed away all night, and brought her back to her tipi in the morning. When the husband saw the wife return with her lover he became so angry that he struck her. But he did not send her away. Therefore he made himself a laughing stock in the tribe.

The husband then took presents to a medicine man and asked him to make medicine against his wife's lover. The medicine man made a smudge, sang his medicine songs, and took out a dish, saying that it represented a wagon. On the dish he placed some wood shavings to represent hay. Then he put a match on top of the shavings, saying that it symbolized the lover. He then tipped the dish until the match rolled from the shavings and told the husband to return to his tipi and await developments.

A few days thereafter the woman's lover was driving a hay wagon along the road. One of the wheels struck a big stone which tipped the wagon. The young man fell off on his head and was killed.⁵²

⁵² Lowie (1922, pp. 345-346) listed five kinds of injury that were planned by Crow workers of evil magic: "the shaman would paralyze his victim, strike him with dumbness, deform him, have him killed on a war party, or cause him to lose his property." He found "jealousy on account of a love affair with one's wife" to be a "common motive for the use of evil magic."

HEALING MEDICINE BUNDLES.

MEDICINE bundles used for healing wounds or curing sickness were received in dreams and visions. The snake is the favorite giver of medicine employed in doctoring severe wounds. With it is most frequently associated the otter. A Crow myth tells the story of the Orphan Boy, who successfully employed the snake and otter to doctor the dangerously sick brother of his wife.

SLIPPERY EYES' SNAKE MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURES 58 AND 59

The writer was able to obtain from Old Coyote full information regarding a snake medicine bundle purchased from Breast in 1927. (CAT. NO. 15/3373).

This medicine originated in the experience of Slippery Eyes who lived during the great smallpox epidemic which carried away many members of the tribe. Slippery Eyes contracted that dread disease. He recovered from it, but his face was so dreadfully pitted that he disliked to stay in camp where everyone would stare at him. The epidemic carried away all of his nearest relatives. It left him a very poor young man, with no one to care for him, and ugly to look upon.

For a time Slippery Eyes stayed close to camp, but never entered it until after dark. He felt his poverty and miserable condition sorely. Finally he decided to fast in the hope of alleviating his sufferings through the aid of a powerful helper.

The Crows were camped near Pryor Gap. West of the present schoolhouse near Pryor is a rocky ridge, and about half way up this bluff one can see today a large, flat rock projecting from the side of the hill. Until recent times a spring flowed from the hill adjoining this rock. Slippery Eyes chose this rock for his fasting place.

For three days Slippery Eyes fasted here, while the people in the camp below celebrated some victory. No vision came to him. He almost lost hope. But remembering his deplorable con-

dition, he determined to fast another day. During the fourth night Slippery Eyes saw a vision. A voice seemed to call him to come to the spring. His soul left his body in answer to this call, and on reaching the spring he saw the latter turn into a tipi. As Slippery Eyes entered the tipi many snakes inside it rattled. One of the snakes was a male with one eye in the center of its head and a horn on top. It was much larger than the others. One of the other snakes spoke to Slippery Eyes: "This is the one who called you." Then all of the snakes turned into human beings.

A real human being was then carried into the tipi on a stretcher made of buffalo hide. He was ill, and was placed in front of Slippery Eyes. Then some real snakes came forward and began to doctor this sick person, showing Slippery Eyes how to proceed. When these snakes had finished doctoring, the man stood up, stretched, combed his hair, and walked out of the tipi a well man.

The chief of the snakes, the one with the horn on his head, told Slippery Eyes to follow him to another spring, which is located a few hundred feet east of Plenty Coups' present house. Slippery Eyes followed the snake and again saw this spring transformed into a beautiful tipi with all the fittings and belongings dear to the heart of an Indian inside. Again the snake chief spoke. "These are the things I give to you", meaning that with the help of his vision Slippery Eyes would be able to satisfy his wish to relieve his poor condition.

The snakes then doctored Slippery Eyes. They treated his deeply pitted face so that only a few pock marks showed.

The spring on Plenty Coups' property was, according to Slippery Eyes, the real home of the snakes. In after years he was frequently seen to go there, and on those occasions a snake would come to him. He would pet and fondle it for a while, talk and pray to it, and then replace it in the spring.

Soon after his return to camp Slippery Eyes made the medicine represented in this bundle. He became one of the foremost medicine men in the tribe. The fees he collected for his treatments made him a rich man. It is even said of him that if he particularly coveted something another Indian possessed and could not obtain it by purchase, he made that Indian ill and then treated him in exchange for that particular article.

The snake chief had told Slippery Eyes that he would live to be an old man. This prophesy also came true. After the death of Slippery Eyes his medicine passed to Sharp Horn, father of

Plenty Coups' wife. She inherited it from her father, and upon her death it was acquired by Breast, from whom it was obtained by the writer.

This bundle is contained in a rectangular sack of soft buffalo skin which is closed at the top with three buckskin cords. A brass bell is attached to each cord. On the front of this sack are painted two snakes in black outlines. A braid of sweetgrass is tied to the back of this sack, and the case has a buckskin carrying strap. (Fig. 59).

The contents of this bundle consist of the three snake effigies depicted in Fig. 58. The one at the bottom represents the snake chief. This effigy is of buckskin, 31" long. It is painted yellow with black eyes, mouth and stripes on its body. Two short cords strung with blue and red seed beads represent fangs, and actual rattlesnake rattles are tied to the tail of this effigy. The image is stuffed with some semi-hard material, possibly pine needles. Attached to the head of this snake is an eagle bone whistle 7" long, to which is tied a small skin packet of medicine which is decorated with green and white seed beads.

The other two snake effigies in this bundle are symbols of the servants of the snake chief. They are the ones who carried out the directions of the snake chief in doctoring patients. The smaller of these is of stuffed buckskin, 24½" long, and painted black with black beaded eyes sewn to its head. The third effigy is made of a long strip of otter skin, 1" wide, and painted red on the skin side. To this is sewn a bulbous snakehead of stuffed buckskin with two red lines painted on the top of it. Two elk teeth and a brass bell are tied to the tail of this image. The otter skin appears in this bundle because the otter is regarded as the chief of the water animals. Water (the sacred spring) cannot be included in the bundle, so its power is represented by this otter skin. The small bell symbolizes a rattlesnake's rattle. The two elk teeth represent property to be acquired by the owner through the successful use of this medicine.

In the ceremony of doctoring with this medicine the patient was led to water, where real snakes were thought to assist in bringing the sick person back to health. While walking behind the patient Slippery Eyes blew the whistle in this bundle to call these snakes to his assistance.⁵³

⁵³ Lowie was told that "a man bitten by a snake, but surviving the effects, would regard the snake as his medicine and would treat people who suffered from snake bites." (Lowie, 1922, p. 374).

LONG'S BUFFALO MEDICINE BUNDLE

FIGURE 61

The buffalo also gave to some Crow Indians the power to heal. Buffalo power was particularly associated with the power to heal wounds.

An interesting bundle of this kind was obtained from Kills in 1927. This bundle (CAT. NO. 15/3279) was not exclusively used in doctoring, but was also used in buffalo hunting as the story of its origin, obtained from Kills at the time of its purchase, indicates:

This bundle originated in a dream of Long-Three-Year-Old-Buffalo, also called Long. Once the Sioux raided the Crow camp and killed Long's sister, many arrows penetrating her body. At the time of the attack Long was absent from the camp and the news of his sister's death was conveyed to him before his return. He deeply mourned the death of his sister and stayed away from the camp for a long time. His sister was killed in the fall of the year. During the following winter Long followed every move of the Crow camp, but he did not enter it.

Toward spring the Crows were camped close to the Crazy Mountains, and Long decided to fast on top of one of the highest peaks of that range. He carried his gun with him. Before he went very far Long saw a deer at no great distance and aimed at the animal. But before he could pull the trigger the deer vanished. In its place he saw a buffalo. He aimed at it and shot it. Long saw blood flowing from the wound his bullet made and he walked toward the animal. As he drew nearer the buffalo rose, walked a short distance and vanished.

When Long arrived at the spot where the buffalo had been shot he found some buffalo grease and a stunted horn. He picked up these articles. But instead of continuing on his intended journey to the mountains, he returned to camp.

That night he had a dream in which the buffalo again appeared to him and gave him his medicine as represented in the bundle. Long was told that the privations he had endured during the winter had roused the "Without Fires" pity for him. Therefore, they gave him this medicine without expecting him to fast."

One of the two stunted horns (Fig. 61, left of center) was to serve him when he needed meat. He then was to smear it with grease given to him, smudge it, and sleep with it. In this sleep he

would be shown where to find game. If he didn't receive this information in his dream he was to carry the horn by a cord around his neck, and it would lead him to the place where he would find plenty of buffalo.

The other stunted horn was given him for use in doctoring certain diseases. Herbs were mixed with mud and water and were prepared in this horn and drunk from it by the patient. At the same time a bird head, which was stuffed inside the horn, was fastened to the patient's head and a similar bird head, to the owner's head.

The third horn (Fig. 61, right) was used for doctoring ailments other than those for which the stunted horn was employed. In its use weasel strips were fastened to the head of the patient and the owner.

Two rattles, which once were a part of this bundle, are missing from it. One was painted black with a buffalo tail tied to it. The other was plain.

In the early years of Long's ownership of this bundle he used it exclusively for doctoring and hunting. The many fees which he collected through its successful use brought him many horses, and as an added charm he attached a strand of horsehair to the bundle. A braid of sweetgrass, used for smudging, and some deerhair were also added. The deerhair symbolized the deer he had seen and which vanished from sight on the day before his medicine dream.

The medicine objects in this bundle are contained in a cylindrical rawhide case bearing painted geometric designs in red, green, yellow and blue. All three of the horns are rubbed with red paint. The largest of them (center) stands only $5\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The undeformed one (at right) has a twisted buckskin cord attached to it, presumably for suspension from the owner's neck.

BUFFALO TAIL WOUND-TREATING MEDICINES

FIGURE 60

[On September 25, 1922, William Wildschut forwarded to the museum two Crow Indian medicines which were "used exclusively for healing wounds." Both medicines are buffalo tails. The larger of these is 36" long. It is partially wrapped in trade cloth and a hawk bell is tied to it. The smaller one is a calf tail

which is undecorated and measures only 11" in length. These are CAT. NOS. 11/5084 and 11/5071 respectively.—JCE]⁵⁴

BUFFALO CHIP MEDICINE OF BIG OX

FIGURES 62 AND 63

[On July 7, 1923, William Wildschut forwarded to the museum a small medicine bundle he had purchased from Charlie Ten Bear, grandson of Big Ox. This bundle had been "used by Big Ox to stop bleeding." (CAT. NO. 12/698).

This medicine is held in a small, rectangular rawhide case $6\frac{1}{4}$ " wide by 7" high, which is painted on the front with geometric designs in red and black (or a very dark blue). (Fig. 62). Inside the rawhide case, wrapped in colored cloth, is a large buffalo chip, $3\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 3" $\times$ 1" thick, with a depression in the center. In this depression is placed a small, almond-shaped pebble of reddish stone, 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ " in length. (Fig. 63).

Big Ox was one of the most noted Crow medicine men of the late 19th century. Curtis (Vol. IV. 1909, p. 197) wrote that he was born about 1830, and was a member of the Not-Mixed Clan of the River Crows. He led ten successful war parties. Yet he was especially remembered among the Crows for his contest with White Thigh, a private enemy in his own tribe. White Thigh's medicine first caused Bog Ox to lose all of his property. But later Big Ox received power from the thunder and caused White Thigh to lose his sight and to become very poor. Thereafter Big Ox was greatly feared by his tribesmen lest they might incur his displeasure and he would use his potent medicine to harm them. Lowie (1922, pp. 344-345) tells another version of the famous

⁵⁴ Curtis told the story of the Crow Indian, Hunts-to-Die, who while wounded, had a vision of a buffalo bull in which he obtained the power to cure himself and to cure others who had been shot in the body. His treatment consisted of singing songs, making incense, switching a buffalo tail from side to side, and telling the patient to hold it in his hands while the doctor raised him to his feet by it. (Curtis, Vol. IV. 1909, p. 56).

Pretty Shield described the actions of a Crow female, His Gun, who had buffalo power, in treating a warrior wounded in a battle with the Sioux. She employed two buffalo tails and imitated the actions of a buffalo bull in her treatment, but she could not save the severely wounded man. (Linderman, 1932, pp. 203-207).

Lowie also remarked upon the close association between buffalo power and wound-doctoring among the Crows. (Lowie, 1922, pp. 377-379).

shamanistic contest between Bix Ox and White Thigh. A portrait of Big Ox appears opposite page 90 in Curtis (1909).—JCE]

MEDICINE FOR TREATING BARREN WOMEN

FIGURE 64

[On October 16, 1923, William Wildschut forwarded to the museum a medicine bundle which he briefly described in his correspondence of that date as a "medicine used by Shinbone's grandmother to cure barren woman. Only two of these medicines are said to have ever been amongst this tribe."

This bundle (CAT. NO. 12/3114), consists of an old, much discolored, cylindrical rawhide case 16½" long, containing the articles illustrated in Fig. 64. There is a miniature cradle board 8¼" high, decorated with bands of red, blue, yellow and white seed beads, and containing a yellow-painted buckskin doll. Tied to the front of the cradle pouch is a small, beaded skin packet of medicine. The item in the center of Fig. 64 is a long, braided scalplock pendant from a disc 1½" diameter of red flannel having a border of light blue, dark blue and yellow seed beads, with buckskin tie-strings attached to the top of the disc. A small braid of sweetgrass, probably used in making the ceremonial smudge when this bundle was employed by its owner, completes the contents.—JCE]⁵⁵

MEDICINE FOR TREATING WOMEN'S DISEASES

FIGURE 65

[A bundle described in Wildschut's correspondence as "Fish-duck medicine from Bird Above, used for the healing of women's diseases", was forwarded to the museum by Mr. Wildschut on September 25, 1922. (CAT. NO. 11/6485).

Contained in a cylindrical rawhide case 20½" long, and wrapped in three pieces of trade cloth, this medicine consists of the entire skin of a "fishduck", and a flat, spatula-shaped, wooden imple-

⁵⁵ Linderman (1930, pp. 81-82) was told of a sacred pool of water near Plenty Coups' home which was thought to have the power to tell expectant Crow mothers the sex of their unborn children. The woman left a little bow and four arrows and a hoop and stick beside this pool for four nights and days. If, when she returned, the bow and arrows were gone, she knew her child would be a boy; but if it would be a girl the hoop and stick would be missing.

ment $16\frac{1}{4}$ " long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " wide and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. This piece was undoubtedly shaped with a knife. Its specific use is not mentioned.—JCE]

BIG FOREHEAD'S WOLF MEDICINE

NOT ILLUSTRATED

In the origin story of Big Forehead's medicine supra, is told how wolves gave this Indian powers to doctor the wounded, to set broken bones and to heal them instantly.

Old Coyote told the writer that at one time while he was acting as a scout for the U. S. Army he was severely wounded by the Sioux. Army doctors gave his case up as hopeless, but Big Forehead took him back to the Crow village, used his wolf medicine in doctoring him, and brought Old Coyote back to health.⁵⁶

DREAM ORIGINS OF HERB MEDICINES

All Crows agree that even the use of certain herbs for treating various diseases were originally revealed to them in their dreams. Two stories of the origins of these medicines were told to the writer:

Magpie-on-Earth, wife of Cold Wind, was a famous doctor among the Crows many years ago. Shortly after the death of her first husband she was traveling between Pryor and the Big Horn deeply mourning her loss. While camping in that region she received a vision of ghosts. They surrounded her and showed her many different herbs with which to doctor the sick. They showed her how to prepare these herbs and which ones were to be used in the treatment of different diseases. She became a noted doctor and successfully treated many serious cases.

The Crows once went on the warpath against the Sioux, who were camped on Powder River. When in sight of the enemy the Crow pipe-holder announced, "Everyone for himself. "This meant that instead of dividing the number of captured enemy horses

⁵⁶ There is some evidence, also, of the use of bear power among the Crow in doctoring. Lowie (1922, pp. 351-352) told of Plenty Fingers, who was credited with the employment of bear power in treating illnesses, in prophesying the future, and as a war medicine.

equally among the members of the party, each warrior would be entitled to keep those horses he himself took.

After the raid it was found that everyone in the war party had obtained one or more horses except Keeps-the-Feather. He was so disappointed that he decided to stay behind and make another attempt to capture horses on his own. That night, however, he found himself suddenly surrounded by a number of people. At first he thought these were enemies who had discovered him. But soon he realized that these were not enemies but supernaturals. They were ghosts. Keeps-the-Feather heard the ghosts say, "He is poor. Let us take him home."

It would have taken Keeps-the-Enemy many days to have traveled from that Sioux camp back to his home camp near the Crazy Mountains. But, traveling with his ghost patrons, he reached his camp before dawn the same night. Then his companions said, "He is hungry. Let us eat." They all sat down and immediately plenty of meat appeared in front of them. Everyone, even the ghosts, ate it. While they were having their meal they discussed among themselves what kind of medicine they would give their child—war medicine or doctor's medicine. They finally decided on a doctor's medicine because it would last longer. Then they showed Keeps-the-Feather different herbs, told him how to prepare them and the ceremonies required in using them to treat different illnesses successfully.

Keeps-the-Feather then returned to the Crow camp. He became a very well-known doctor, having as his medicine thereafter the ghosts."

STOMACH KNEADERS

FIGURE 66

An interesting implement employed by the Crows to relieve indigestion and gas is the stomach kneader. It is invariably used by the Indian to treat himself. It is in frequent use today (1927). It is not considered a medicine object. Nevertheless, since Crow stomach kneaders have not been illustrated in other publications, it may not be out of place to show their appearance here.

[Fig. 66 shows two of these wooden implements. The larger of the two (CAT. NO. 15/4721) is 17" long. Its greatest width is 3 3/8" and thickness 1 1/2". The smaller stomach kneader (CAT. NO.

15/2399) is 13" long, 2" in greatest width, and 1" in thickness. — JCE]⁵⁷

⁵⁷ A Crow myth tells of a woman who was given the power to "tell those who had a stomach ache to knead their stomachs." (Lowie, 1918, p. 126). It was the wide part of the stomach kneader that was pushed against the stomach and upward. The Crows were "careful not to press hard on the navel." (Lowie, 1922, p. 374).

The common digging stick also played a role in Crow Indian medical practices. More than a century ago E. T. Denig wrote: "Abortions are produced by administering blows on the abdomen or by pressing upon it with a stick, leaning their whole weight thereon and swinging to and fro. The foetus is thus ejected at different periods of its growth, varying from 3 to 7 months. As they are not aware of the danger attending the practice many women die in attempting it. It has been computed by those well acquainted with this tribe that threefourths of all women who die are lost in this manner." Usually the husband consents to it, or at least does not punish his wife for so doing, but of late years the voices of all or most of the men are against the crime and it is becoming more rare. The act now reflects disgrace on both the father and the mother of the child, and, if not done so frequently, it is at least concealed from the public." (Denig, 1953. pp. 57-58).

BUFFALO HUNTING MEDICINES

WILLIAM Wildschut's description of Crow rock medicines tells of their use as hunting medicines. His description of Long's buffalo medicine bundle clearly indicates that one of the buffalo horns in that bundle was employed to obtain supernatural aid in hunting buffalo, while other horns in the bundle were used in curing rituals.

On October 21, 1922, Wildschut forwarded to the museum another Crow medicine bundle which was merely described in his correspondence as a "buffalo hunting medicine from Cold Wind." (CAT. NO. 11/4872). As shown in Figure 67, this medicine consists simply of a buffalo horn $6\frac{1}{4}$ " long with a little skin packet of herb medicine tied to it through a hole drilled in the base of the horn. There is also a braided hair cord, probably used to suspend this medicine around the neck of the hunter. The surface of this buffalo horn is rubbed with sacred red paint.—JCE]⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Lowie was told of a number of Crow Indians who were credited by their fellows with the power to call buffalo or deer. Their services were of greatest value when game was scarce and the people were hungry. Lowie did not illustrate any of these game "charming" medicines. (Lowie, 1922, pp. 354-359).

HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE SURVEY

BY JOHN C. EWERS

THE PREHISTORIC CROW INDIANS

ACCORDING to the traditions of both the Crow and Hidatsa Indians these two tribes were once one people. The date of their separation has been variously estimated at from about "five hundred years ago" (Lowie, 1956, p. 4) to about the year 1776. (Denig, 1953, p. 19). Lowie based his estimate primarily upon the degree of linguistic difference between Crow and Hidatsa that existed in the early years of the present century. However, earlier writers were more inclined to minimize these linguistic differences. François Larocque readily recognized the close affinity between Crow and Hidatsa in 1805, and presented a brief comparative vocabulary to prove it. (Larocque, 1910, pp. 68-69). Edwin T. Denig, writing a half century later, claimed that the two tribes "have little or no difficulty in conversing with each other." (Denig, 1953, p. 20). Washington Matthews, an early authority on the Hidatsa, suggested that even in the early period, when these tribes lived in close proximity to each other they may have spoken slightly different dialects. (Matthews, 1877, p. 39). Had the Crow and Hidatsa then occupied separate villages, as did the Mandan in later years, this might have been the case. If so, the linguistic deviation might have begun before the wide geographical separation between these tribes, and a much more recent date for this separation than the one proposed by Lowie might be acceptable.

I am inclined to believe that although Denig's date of 1776 for the separation of these tribes is too recent, the westward movement of the Crows, and, certainly, their cultural transformation from a horticultural to a nomadic tribe, was a phenomenon of the 18th century; and that their complete orientation to a nomadic life based upon a buffalo hunting economy probably did not antedate their acquisition of horses. The fur trader, Robert Meldrum, who knew the Crows better than any other white man in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, told Lewis Henry

Morgan that when he first went among the Crows in 1827, old people in the tribe told him they saw the first horses known to their country. On the basis of this statement, Morgan estimated that the Crows acquired their first horses about 100 years prior to his conversations with Meldrum in 1862. (Morgan, 1959, p. 197). This statement, and our knowledge from other sources of the diffusion of horses to the tribes of the Upper Missouri suggest that it is reasonable to estimate that the Crows obtained their first horses within the period *ca.* 1730 to 1760. By 1805, when François Larocque traveled with the Crows and wrote the earliest known description of their way of life, these Indians were the wealthiest in horses among the Upper Missouri tribes and their methods of hunting, fighting and moving camp were well adjusted to the extensive use of these animals. (Larocque, 1910).

Meldrum also told Morgan of a time when the Crows held the country around the Bearpaw Mountains north of the Missouri in present Montana, while the Shoshoni occupied the historic habitat of the Crows in the middle Yellowstone Valley. But shortly after the Crows acquired horses they began to raid the Shoshoni for more of these animals, drove the Shoshoni out of that region, and took it over for themselves. (Morgan, 1959, pp. 167, 197). This displacement of the Shoshoni by the Crows on the middle Yellowstone in the second half of the 18th century is strongly indicated in Flathead Indian traditions collected by James Teit, although the Crow movement is represented as having been from the east rather than from north of the Missouri. (Teit, 1930, pp. 316-318). However, fragmentary Blackfoot traditions support Meldrum's contention that the Crows lived north of the Missouri before the southward movement of the powerful Blackfoot tribes and their allies the Gros Ventres in the late years of the 18th century. "The Crows then ranged along Milk River. The Blackfoot confederacy drove them south." (Curtis, Vol. 18., 1928, p. 177).

The earliest contemporary reference to Crow Indian residence on the Yellowstone appears to be that of the fur trader, Jean Baptiste Trudeau in his brief description of the Yellowstone River based upon Arikara information, written in 1796. It includes the statement: "The nation of the Crow, a numerous people, dwells along its banks, and, higher up, in ascending toward its source, are situated several other savage nations that are still unknown to us." (Nasatir, 1952, Vol. II, p. 381). Trudeau also stated that

a Canadian trader, Menard, who had lived 16 years among the Mandan, had been to the Crow country in company with their Hidatsa kinfolk. Unfortunately, no detailed accounts of Menard's visits among the Crows prior to 1796 are known.

Not until a decade later (1805) did a white trader visit the Crow country and leave a journal describing both the customs of these Indians and the appearance of their homeland. Writing from a Crow encampment on an island in the Yellowstone River a few miles east of present Billings, Montana, on September 14, 1805, Larocque stated: "They told me that in winter they were always to be found at a Park at the foot of the Mountain a few miles from this or thereabouts. In the spring and fall they are upon this River and in summer upon the Tongue and Horses River". (Larocque, 1910, p. 45).

Larocque's words leave no doubt that the Crow Indians were established in the valley of the Yellowstone and its southern tributaries in the southeastern part of present Montana at the beginning of the historic period. They continued to hold this, one of the most desirable hunting grounds of the Upper Missouri, in spite of unrelenting pressures from the more powerful and numerous Sioux and Blackfoot until buffalo were exterminated in their country. And the Crow Indians have continued to occupy a reservation in the heart of this area to the present time. Nevertheless, the Crows were not ancient residents of their historic habitat. Indeed, it is doubtful if they displaced the Shoshoni from the southern tributaries of the middle Yellowstone before the smallpox epidemic of 1781 greatly weakened the Shoshoni. This was barely a quarter century before the pen of François Larocque spelled the opening of the historic period in the Crow country.

EVIDENCE OF MEDICINE BUNDLES IN THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

The Archeological Evidence: Several factors have militated against the discovery of any significant archeological evidence of the existence of Crow medicine bundles. Most of the materials employed in making medicine bundles were perishable ones (raw-hide and soft-dressed skins, feathers and bird skins, wood and other botanical substances). Only under unusually favorable conditions could these materials withstand the ravages of time and the elements. Of the non-perishable materials appearing in Crow medicine bundles, rock medicines and tubular stone pipes

are most common, and (as we shall see) neither of these were peculiar to the Crow Indians in historic times. Furthermore, the traditional Crow custom of burying the dead above ground in trees or on scaffolds resulted in the remains becoming quickly scattered and rendered impossible the finding of significant grave goods in association with burials.

The remains of stone resting places made by vision questers on high, isolated points in the Crow country have not received the detailed study by archeologists that these once-common structures deserve. Archeologists have been all too prone to lump all stone monuments under the common classification of "ceremonial" remains. Yet even if careful studies of these little sites were made, it might be impossible to determine whether they were made by historic or prehistoric Indians.

The Hagen Site, on the lower Yellowstone, about 5 miles southeast of Glendive, has yielded pottery of the Mandan-Hidatsa tradition, bison scapula digging tools (which were used by the nomadic Crows of the historic period for cultivating small plots of tobacco as well as by the Hidatsa in caring for their food crops), and the remains of a single earth lodge. William Mulloy, under whose direction this site was excavated, considered the site to have been occupied by people of the Mandan-Hidatsa cultural tradition, possibly the Crow Indians, in the late Prehistoric Period. However, this site yielded no artifacts that might be interpreted as articles which formed parts of the contents of medicine bundles. (Mulloy, 1942).

At Pictograph Cave south of Billings, in the valley of Bitter Creek, some seven miles from its junction with the Yellowstone, Mulloy excavated an important stratified site. The artifacts unearthed at this site give no hint of the religious life of the Indians who made them. However, the crude paintings upon the upper portions of the cave walls (from which the site derives its name) contain suggestions of the religious concepts of the primitive artists who created them. Several of these paintings depict men carrying shields considerably larger in proportion to the height of the men who bear them than were the shields used by the Crows and their neighbors in the historic period. These shields are crudely painted with geometric designs, zoomorphic figures, and one definitely anthropomorphic painting. (Mulloy, 1958, pp. 118-125, Figs. 42-44).

Mulloy has assigned these shield-bearing figures to the Late

Prehistoric Period (Pictograph Cave III). They bear marked stylistic resemblances to certain shield-bearing figures appearing in pictographs associated with the Fremont Culture in Utah. (Wormington, 1955, Figs. 62-65). These paintings may have been the work of the immediate precursors of the Crow Indians in the middle Yellowstone Valley, the Shoshoneans. It is improbable that they were executed by Crows. Nevertheless, they suggest that the custom of painting shields with symbolic designs, some of which may be intended to represent supernatural helpers of the shield owners, was an old one in this region.

The historic Crow occupants must have been familiar with these cave paintings. Even though the Crow style of shield painting was somewhat more sophisticated than that evidenced by these cave murals, it is possible that they may have had some influence upon the religious art of the Crows.

The Evidence of Mythology: Several years ago Clara Ehrlich carefully analyzed some 89 different Crow tales that had been published to determine how the tribal culture was reflected in the mythology of these Indians. She was impressed by the recurring theme of the vision quest in which a supernatural animal or mythical character appeared to a lone Indian who had fasted, suffered, and invoked the aid of the spirits, and rewarded the petitioner by taking pity upon him and bestowing its power upon him. Ehrlich concluded: "The vision and the resultant medicine power of human beings are the vital springs of their literature, as they are also of their actual living." (Ehrlich, 1937, p. 396).

Crow oral literature was found to be especially rich in stories of the bestowal of supernatural power upon humans to insure their success in war (counting of coups, capture of enemy horses, leadership of war parties). However, the other uses of these powers described in the tales also included doctoring the sick or wounded, luring game when the camp was starving, and winning the affection of a member of the opposite sex. (Ehrlich, 1937, pp. 328, 378, 381-382).

The many stories of the vision origin of specific medicine bundles told to William Wildschut by elderly Crow Indians (and published in this monograph) follow the dominant literary pattern Ehrlich noted in her survey of previously published Crow tales. The great majority of the stories told to Wildschut referred to the reputed vision experiences of known and named Indians who lived in the 19th century. This was also true of a number of the tales

published earlier and analyzed by Ehrlich. Nevertheless, the dominance of the vision quest theme in the oral literature of this tribe argues for the considerable antiquity of this religious pattern in the life of the Crows. The origin of the vision quest in Crow Indian culture must have roots that penetrated deep into this tribe's prehistoric past.

CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES IN THE EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD

François Larocque, Northwest Company trader, who traveled for two and a half months with a large camp of Crow Indians in the summer of 1805, from the Hidatsa villages on the Missouri to an island in the Yellowstone east of present Billings, wrote the first field observations of Crow religious concepts and practices:

"I don't know what they believe as to their origin or their opinions, more than that they believe in Good and Bad Spirits, and in a Supreme Master of life.... What they call spirits are quadrupeds or fowls which the[y] think acts as guardian angels. They have no notion of spirits in the [sense] we have it is certain, but the[y] believe these are invisible beings who have the power to do them Ill or Good and to them they make their offerings. One thinks it is the Moon that watches over him and another thinks that is is a Bea or Mouse and so on. It is their dreams that cause them to worship one thing rather than another, but the sun, moon, stars, heaven and earth are of General worship & an Oath on one of them is reckoned inviolable. There is not an animal, fowl, reptile or insect that is not worshiped by some of these Indians who think that the object of his worship can save his life and render him invulnerable, whether it be a [bee] or a mouse. Inanimate things, such as a ball & stone, etc., are likewise thought to be able to do good or harm." (Larocque, 1910, p. 62).

Quaint as was Larocque's description, he made it quite clear that the concept of a guardian spirit, appearing to the individual Indian in the form of an animal, bird, reptile or insect, or a heavenly body (Moon) was basic to Crow Indian belief in 1805. The last sentence quoted above may refer to rock medicines. Larocque's account also mentioned that ammonites were common on the hills near Powder River, but did not refer specifically to their use in medicine bundles. (*Ibid.*, p. 32).

Larocque's description of Crow war medicine bundles is clear and understandable to the modern student of the subject:

"..... when they go to war they take their medicine bags at least the Chief of the party does. When they have found out their enemies & on the point of beginning the attack the bag of medicine is opened, they sing a few airs but very shortly smoke and then attack..." (*Ibid.*, p. 66).

This French trader also referred to the Crow belief in witchcraft. On July 30, 1805 he went hunting with the chief and a few other Crows. They wounded elk, buffalo, and mountain sheep but could not kill any of them. This "made the chief say that some one had thrown bad medicine on our guns and that if he could know him he would surely die." (*Ibid.*, p. 31).

Most tantalizing is Larocque's description of Crow preparations for a great ceremony. On September 7, 1805 the camp was pitched near the Yellowstone River. "We remained here all day, the Indian women being very busy to dry tongues and the best part of the meat and dressing skins for a great feast they are preparing, while their war exploits are recapitulated." Five days later the Crows "encamped in a point where they usually make their fall medicine." But the ceremonies had not begun before Larocque parted with the Crows and started on his way back to the Hidatsa villages. In these passages he may have been describing Crow preparations for a sun dance or for a "cooked meat ceremony". (*Ibid.*, pp. 43-45).

Whether or not the sun dance bundle and its effigy existed among the Crow Indians in 1805, it seems almost certain that it was known to them some 22 years later, for Robert Meldrum, who went among the Crows in 1827, described the use of the sun dance doll in the Crow ceremony to Lewis Henry Morgan, and stated that there were eight of these effigies in the tribe. (Morgan, 1959, pp. 185-186).

In the summer of 1832 George Catlin met Crow Indians at Fort Union and at the Hidatsa villages on the Missouri and painted the earliest known portraits of members of this tribe. His likeness of a chief, Four Wolves, shows his medicine, the whole skin of a weasel, suspended from a thong around his neck. (U. S. National Museum CAT. NO. 386,162). His portrait of Two Crows, a band chief, depicts him holding two "medicine bags... one of his own instituting; the other taken from his enemy whom he had killed in battle." (U. S. National Museum CAT. NO. 386,164). However, Catlin did not explain either the origins or the functions of these medicines.

The following summer Prince Maximilian met some Crows briefly near Fort Clark on the Missouri. His journal contains no observations on Crow medicine bundles. However, Carl Bodmer, the talented young artist who accompanied Maximilian, executed a drawing of a Crow shield decorated with two paintings of birds, a whole weasel skin, and eagle feather pendants. (Maximilian, 1843, p. 175. Plate XLVIII).

During the fall and winter of 1834-1835, Zenas Leonard, an American trapper and trader in the employ of Captain Bonneville, lived and hunted with the Crows. He wrote of Crow Indian personal medicines as "talismans":

"... but no nation, I believe, are so devoutly attached to their talismans as the Crow Nation.—it is their life—their very existence. Almost every individual of the Crow Tribe has something of the kind, and which consists of a seed, a stone, a piece of wood, a bear or eagle's claw, or anything which their fancy may lead them to believe has a successful virtue, and which has been purchased of some noted warrior who has been successful in his undertakings whilst in the possession of such an article. This magical thing, whatever it may be, is carefully enveloped in a piece of skin, and then tied round the neck or body. If an old experienced warrior gives one or two young men an article of this kind on going to war, and they happen to be successful in taking scalps or stealing horses, the whole affair is attributed to the virtue of his talisman, and he can then sell it for almost any price he demands, and if it is a precious stone, or seed, or piece of wood, all similar articles are immediately enhanced in value, and the greater the price they pay for such an article, the greater service it will be to them in the hour of need. Some of them will even give four or five good horses for the most trifling and simple article of this kind." (Leonard, 1959, pp. 140-141).

To Leonard, as to Larocque before him, Crow medicine bundles meant war medicine bundles. Not only were they common and their function readily recognized by the traders, but many of them must have been so simple as to pique the traders' curiosity as to the unusually high value placed upon them by these Indians. Leonard's statement above stresses the transfer of successful war medicines, and infers the copying of the most celebrated ones, aspects of Crow use of war medicines which Larocque did not mention.

Very little additional information on Crow medicine bundles

appeared in print from the time of Zenas Leonard until the period of systematic study of Crow religion by Lowie and Wildschut in the twentieth century. Even then this proved a difficult subject upon which to obtain complete information. Witness the fact that Lowie studied the religion of the Crow Indians for a decade, but he made no mention in his writings of their skull medicine bundles.

MEDICINE BUNDLES AMONG OTHER UPPER MISSOURI TRIBES

When Clark Wissler wrote his excellent monograph, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians* more than 48 years ago, very little was known about Crow medicine bundles. He barely mentioned Crow bundles in his brief comparative section in that paper. (Wissler, 1912, pp. 279-282). Today the situation is changed. Thanks to the field researches of Lowie and Wildschut we know virtually as much about Crow medicine bundles as we do about those of the Blackfoot tribes, and more than we do about the medicine bundles of any other tribe of the Upper Missouri region. Yet widely scattered through the literature are references to the use of medicine bundles by the other Upper Missouri tribes. With the known types of Crow medicine bundles in mind let us make such comparisons with those of the other tribes of this region as available data will permit in an effort to determine Crow relationships to other tribes in this important aspect of religious life, and to find out to what extent Crow medicine bundles may be unique.

Sun dance Bundles: The heart of the Crow sun dance bundle is the effigy or doll which stands as a symbol of the enemy against whom revenge is sought by the giver of the ceremony. However, in the sun dance of the Crow Indians' near kinsmen, the Hidatsa, the giver carried the dried scalp of an enemy from his right wrist and the dried hand of an enemy from his left one, and he gazed not at a doll but at a buffalo head in the crotch of the centre pole of the medicine lodge. (Curtis, Vol. IV., 1909, pp. 152-155). Among the Siouan tribes of the region the closest analogy to the Crow sun dance doll appears to be the cut rawhide figure of a man, symbolizing the enemy, which is tied to the center pole in the Oglala sun dance. After the pole is erected, warriors carrying guns enter the lodge and shoot repeatedly at this rawhide image of the enemy. (Deloria, 1929, pp. 391, 398-99). One of these flat,

cutout rawhide figures, collected by Capt. John G. Bourke, probably prior to 1890, is in the collections of the U. S. National Museum (CAT. NO. 168, 167). It stands 13½" high, includes arms and legs, and is realistically proportioned.

However, the Crow Indians told Meldrum that their sun dance doll was an old relic which they obtained from "Mexico" long ago. (Morgan, 1959, p. 185). While we need not interpret this statement literally, it may be that the *form* of the Crow sun dance doll was derived from the south. Dockstader (1954, pp. 99-100) has expressed the opinion that the early form of the Hopi kachina doll was "the flat, non-sculptural *piichtihii*, usually about 6 to 8 inches long", in which the head was distinguished from the body, but arms and legs were lacking. Two simple effigies of pottery, lacking both arms and legs, were collected among the Mohave in the early 1850s by Lieut. A. W. Whipple, and are preserved in the collections of the U. S. National Museum (CAT. NOS. 1,816 and 1,817). Perhaps the Crow sun dance doll may be regarded as of this older, generalized Southwestern type of figurine in so far as its *form* is concerned. But *functionally* it is closer to the Oglala sun dance effigy of cut rawhide.

Mooney has described the sacred sun dance effigy of the Kiowa, the *tai'me*, which was also a war medicine. "The ancient *tai'me* image was of buckskin, with a stalk of Indian tobacco for a headdress. This buckskin image was left in the medicine lodge, with all the other adornments and sacrificial offerings, at the close of each ceremony." (Mooney, 1901, p. 240). Yet in Mooney's day it was "of dark-green stone, in form rudely resembling a human head and bust." Of three of these medicines, two were said to have come originally from the Crow, through an Arapaho married into the Kiowa tribe, while the third was said to have been captured from the Blackfoot. Although the more recent stone *tai'me* would seem to resemble the Crow rock medicines more closely than their sun dance effigy, the older form of the Kiowa effigy must have resembled the typical Crow sun dance doll.

Spier was inclined to attribute both the Kiowa *tai'me* and the doll attached to the headdress of the medicine woman in the Blackfoot sun dance to Crow influence. (Spier, 1921, p. 472). However, the Blackfoot sun dance included a number of significant ceremonial articles, and the ceremony, unlike that of the Crows, was not performed in order to gain revenge upon the enemy.

War Medicine Bundles: Not only was the use of personal war medicines common to all of the tribes of the Northern Plains but there is every reason to believe that both the dream origin of these medicines and the custom of transferring medicines from a successful warrior to a young and inexperienced one, existed among the tribes of this region long before the introduction of the horse made raiding for these animals the most common incentive for intertribal war expeditions.

In 1691 Henry Kelsey, the first white man known to have reached the buffalo country of the Northern Plains, quaintly described a feather bonnet employed as a war medicine by the pedestrian Assiniboin or Cree Indians with whom he became acquainted:

"Their first & Chiefest point is A piece of Birch rine full of feathers of Divers sorts put on a piece of Leather which is broad at one End for to tie about their head at such a sort yt ye remaining part shall hang down over their back this they put to use when their Enemies are in sight believing yt will save ym from being killed. It being not ye work of their own hands but of their father or some other old man near kin to ym. This thing is called by their name Wessgauniconan wch in time of use is accompanied by songs made by ye same man wch made ye other wch songs are Called Wonnyseewahiggens..." (Kelsey, 1929, p. 19).

That feathers should have remained the most common war medicines throughout the historic period of intertribal warfare may be due, at least in part, to the practical consideration that feathers are light in weight and hence easy to carry on long war expeditions on foot. Grinnell (1923, Vol. 2, pp. 108-125) emphasized the common use of bird feathers and skins as war medicines by the Cheyennes. The great majority of the Blackfoot personal war medicines known to me were single feathers or bunches of feathers worn in the warrior's hair. A metal disc, symbolic of a heavenly body, sometimes was included as part of a Blackfoot war medicine. Compare the discs pictured by Wissler (1912, Fig. 3) with the one in the Crow war medicine bundle collected by Wildschut and shown in Fig. 20 of this monograph.

Like the Crows, the Blackfoot also employed certain shirts, bonnets and other items of costume as war medicines. They also regarded the wolf skin as a sacred protective medicine for the war party scout. I know of no Blackfoot hoop or arrow medicines.

But they did possess other war medicines, which originated in their owner's dreams, which were equally distinctive, such as the medicine lance and the otter headdress.

Arrow Medicine Bundles: Probably the most renowned tribal war medicine of any Plains Indian tribe was the sacred medicine arrows of the Cheyennes. Four in number, these arrows closely resembled stone-tipped hunting and war arrows. Two of them had red stone points, red-painted shafts and feathers of the gray eagle. The other two arrows were composed of black points, black-daubed shafts and war eagle feathering. (Grinnell, 1910, p. 542). Grinnell has described the use of these most sacred tribal medicines in his classic *The Fighting Cheyennes* (pp. 25, 45, 62, 70ff., 80, 83, 92, 114, 307).

Undoubtedly this Cheyenne tribal war medicine was well known to their long-time enemies the Crow Indians. It seems most probable, as Lowie has suggested, that the arrow medicine bundle, employed as a personal war medicine by the Crows, was an adaptation of a Cheyenne tribal war medicine. (Lowie, 1922, p. 391).

Shields: Shields bearing painted designs which originated in their owners' dreams or visions were found among all of the Upper Missouri tribes. However, adequate comparative data are available only for the Teton Dakota and the Blackfoot tribes. Wissler described and figured the designs painted on the covers of 11 Teton Dakota shields. The occurrence on several of these shield paintings of supernatural birds and conventionalized representations of thunder, hail and lightning closely resemble Crow shield symbolism. *I.e.* the power bestowed upon the shield-owner in his dream was intended to enable him to fly safely through the rain, hail and lightning of enemy fire. (Wissler, 1907, pp. 23-31. Figs. 1-9. Plates V, VII).

The Blackfoot tribes not only made their own shields and painted them with representations of "the buffalo, the sun, the moon, or stars", but they had a very high regard for the shields they captured from their Crow enemies. (Wissler, 1912, p. 117). As early as 1833, Maximilian described a Blackfoot war party he saw riding to battle. Some of the warriors carried beautifully ornamented shields which they had "obtained from the Crows." (Maximilian, 1843, p. 257). Wissler noted that one shield, which the Blackfoot obtained from the Crows, bore paintings of a hawk and conventionalized clouds and lightning symbols, "strongly

suggesting motives seen on Dakota shields." (Wissler, 1912, pp. 117-118. Fig. 13,d).

Little is known of the relationship of Crow shield designs to those employed by their Hidatsa kinsmen. That they were not unrelated is suggested by the following quotation from Henry Boller, referring to the transfer of shield power from a veteran Hidatsa warrior to an inexperienced Crow one about the year 1860:

"The previous summer, when on a visit to the Crows, the Wolf painted a young Crow warrior, and said he gave him half his medicine. He was a chief and he gave him the same chance to become one. The young man took the name of the Black Cloud and painted half his shield black. He then went to war and stole two horses, when he sent word down that they were for the Wolf. His medicine was good, and he wanted his shield black all over." (Boller, 1868, p. 324).

Enterprising traders, both in this country and in Canada, did not always recognize the religious significance of the protective designs on Plains Indian shields. In 1821 Nicholas Garry, Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, after visiting the Northwest Territories of British North America, recommended among the new products that might be used in the Indian trade "Copper Shields or of Tin with Paintings of a frightful Animal, red Color, will please the Plains Indians." (Garry, 1900, p. 195). The American Fur Company sought to introduce polished metal shields among the tribes of the Upper Missouri to replace shields of their own making. "The attempt was opposed by the medicine men, who would thus have been deprived of an important source of revenue, and the superstitious feelings of the Indians induced them to prefer their own which alone could undergo religious dedication and enjoy the favor of the Great Spirit." (Bradley, 1923, p. 258).

Skull Medicine Bundles: That Wildschut was the first field worker among the Crow Indians even to mention the skull medicine bundle appears remarkable in view of the fact that two red-painted skulls, part of a complex shrine, were among the most sacred tribal possessions of their Hidatsa kinsmen. Curtis (Vol. IV., 1909, p. 165) stated that these skulls were handed down in the Midipati Clan of that tribe. Pepper and Wilson (1908, pp. 275-328) described these two human skulls and indicated that their functions were to bring rain, to bring buffalo meat, to prevent starvation, and to cure sickness.

Bowers (1950, pp. 100-101) also reported that the Hidatsa had adopted an old Mandan custom of arranging the skulls of deceased tribesman in a circle to compose a shrine. This Mandan custom was both described and pictured by George Catlin during his visit to the Mandan villages in the summer of 1832. He learned that when scaffold burials decayed, and the bones of the deceased fell to the ground all of the bones save the skulls were buried. The skulls were placed in great circles 20 to 30 feet in diameter, each skull resting upon a bunch of wild sage, and facing inward. On a mound in the center of the circle were placed a male and a female buffalo skull and an upright "medicine pole." (Catlin, 1841, Vol. I. pp. 90-91, Plate 48). Catlin also observed that the Mandan employed four human skulls and four buffalo skulls as ceremonial paraphernalia in their famous *Okipa* ceremony. These skulls were placed upon the floor of the medicine lodge at the beginning of the ceremony, but they were tied in elevated positions to the lodge posts before the self-torture feature of the ceremony commenced. (*Ibid.*, pp. 162, 170, Plates 66, 68).

One of the two important corn ceremonial bundles of the Mandan also was known among them as "the skull bundle." It contained three human skulls, each reputed to be that of one of the sons of the mythical leaders of the corn ceremonies. Mandan traditions traced the history of this bundle back beyond the smallpox epidemic of 1781. This bundle was still owned by a Mandan woman, Mrs. White Duck, in 1930-31, at which time Alfred W. Bowers photographed and briefly described it. (Bowers, 1950, pp. 185-186. Fig. 24).

It is apparent that skull medicines were even more important to the Hidatsa and Mandan than they were to the Crow Indians. It would appear probable that the skull medicine bundle was known to the Crows before their separation from the Hidatsa. However, the skull medicine seems to have been predominantly a Siouan one. I know of no reference to it in the literature on the neighboring Algonkian tribes of the Upper Missouri.

Bowers (1950, p. 181) also mentioned that the teeth of a successful Mandan warrior, Calf Woman, were taken from his skull a year after burial by his ten sons and carried by them as war medicines.

Rock Medicine Bundles: Among other Siouan and among Algonkian tribes of the Northern Plains there were rock medicines which their owners believed possessed supernatural powers. An

Hidatsa personal medicine included three medicine rocks, two of them baculites, and one a simple pebble. It was believed that the two smaller of these rocks were the offspring of the larger one. (Pepper and Wilson, 1908, pp. 304, 324-25).

The Arapaho preserved both fossil shells and naturally shaped stones which bore vague resemblances to birds or animals for use in doctoring the sick. An Arapaho also painted two stones red and kept them in a bag of incense to be opened at sun dance time. (Kroeber, 1907, pp. 426, 442, 443).

The Blackfoot *Iniskim*, buffalo rock, a section of a baculite bearing a vague or imagined resemblance to a buffalo, was regarded as a sacred medicine which was formerly used in a ceremony for calling the buffalo when the camp was without meat and the people were hungry. However baculites, ammonites and oddly-shaped pebbles, found on the plains, were retained by the Blackfoot Indians as good luck charms. Others were placed in Blackfoot sacred bundles along with larger and more significant articles. Like the Crows, the Blackfoot generally covered their rock medicines with red paint and they believed that these rocks would multiply if left to themselves for a sufficient time. (Wissler, 1912, pp. 242-245. Fig. 33).

In 1862 Lewis Henry Morgan obtained a description of Hidatsa "new moon ceremonies" which consisted of the smudging and ceremonial opening of medicine bundles, in addition to a feast. This may have been the Hidatsa equivalent of the "Cooked Meat Singing" among the Crows. (Morgan, 1959, p. 189).

Most Crow rock medicines differ from those of other tribes in possessing very elaborate appendages of trade beads, weasel skin strips, bits of shell etc. (See Figs. 40-45). The simple, undecorated ammonite and baculite portrayed in Fig. 45 are characteristic of the rock medicines which were more widely distributed among the tribes of the Northern Plains.

The Medicine Pipes: Of all the major types of Crow bundles the one employed in the Medicine Pipe Ceremony is most obviously of foreign origin. According to Crow tradition, obtained by Curtis, this ritual was transferred to the great Crow chiefs, Long Hair and Rotten Belly at the Hidatsa villages in 1825. (Curtis, Vol. IV., p. 179). The Hidatsa in turn claimed that they obtained the ritual from the Arikara. (Lowie, 1912, p. 60). Yet the origin legend cited by Wildschut supra purports to tell of its acquisition from the Sioux.

The Hidatsa Medicine Ceremony was essentially a ceremony of adoption in which the initiate "was given a sacred pipe which he kept as a symbol of his regeneration, from which he was supposed to derive spiritual strength in time of need." (Curtis, Vol. IV, p. 184). Bowers (1950, Chapter XVI) found that the Mandan "Adoption Pipe Ceremony" was identical with that of the Hidatsa, as to ritual. Two pipe stems were carried in this ceremony, one to be retained by the owner and one to be passed to the initiate. The pipe bowls were unimportant. The Mandan also claimed that their pipe ceremony was obtained from the Arikara a long time ago. This Mandan ceremony was described briefly by Maximilian in 1834. (Maximilian, 1843, p. 370).

Although the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres and Plains Cree also possessed elaborate medicine pipe ceremonies and even more elaborate medicine pipe bundles, their pipes and rituals differed materially from the Crow-Hidatsa-Mandan ones. (Wissler, 1912, pp. 136-168; Cooper, 1956, pp. 33-172; Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 271-274).

Pipe-holder's Pipes: While among the Mandan in 1833, Maximilian learned that "all partisans carry on their backs a medicine pipe in a case, which other warriors dare not have." He described this war leader's pipe as "a plain, undecorated tube". After a war party set out, "at a certain distance from the village they halt upon an isolated hill, open their medicine bags, and, after the men have sat down in a circle, the partisan produces his medicine pipe, which all present smoke; the person who smokes last, then spreads his medicines on the ground, or hangs them up, and from them foretells the fate of the expedition." (Maximilian, 1843, pp. 387-388). Catlin attempted a painting of a Mandan war party halting for a smoke, but he shows the leader smoking a pipe with a Siouan calumet-shaped bowl, which may be erroneous. (CAT. NO. 386,441 U. S. National Museum). Probably Catlin never witnessed that ceremony. Maximilian further stated that a Mandan warrior was not "allowed to wear tufts of hair on his clothes, unless he carries a medicine pipe, and has been the leader of a war party." (Maximilian, 1843, p. 386).

Maximilian pictured and briefly described the tubular-bowled pipes used by members of war parties in the early 1830s. "The Indians on the Upper Missouri have another kind of tobacco pipe, the bowl of which is in the same line as the tube, and which they use only on their warlike expeditions. As the aperture of the pipe

is more inclined downwards than usual, the fire can never be seen, so as to betray the smoker, who lies on the ground, and holds the pipe on one side." (Maximilian, 1843, p. 196, footnote and figure). It is especially noteworthy that both of the Crow pipeholder's pipes collected by Wildschut and pictured in Figs. 46-50 of this monograph, are equipped with tubular stone bowls.

Love Medicines: All of the tribes of the Upper Missouri possessed love medicines which were used to win the affection of a member of the opposite sex. These medicines were of three major types: (1), elk medicine, the reputed power of the bull elk over females of his species, transferred to human beings through dreams or visions; (2), small human effigies of carved wood or bark used in conjunction with strands of the hair of the loved one and / or particular herbs; (3), botanical medicines, some of them secret but others known to have been sweet-smelling roots, seeds or flowers carried or worn to attract the loved one.

In their preference for elk medicines Crow men resembled those of other Siouan tribes of the region. Available information indicates that these resemblances were closest to Assiniboin and Teton Dakota. In Dakota mythology the Elkman was known as a seducer of women. (Ehrlich, 1937, p. 310). Dakota men employed both a skin robe decorated with a painted elk figure and a flageolet in courting. (Wissler, 1905, pp. 261-268). Assiniboin love medicines also included an elkskin robe bearing a representation of an elk in blue paint and an "elk whistle". (Ewers, 1958, p. 40). However, Dakota and Assiniboin wooden love flutes differed from the Crow ones collected by Wildschut in having the front ends carved in the form of the head of a bird or of an elk. In 1862, Morgan was told of the Hidatsa recognition of the elk as a source of power in love making. (Morgan, 1959, p. 189). Both Mandan and Hidatsa men employed "elk whistles" in courting. These long, wooden flageolets were either plain (as were those of the Crow Indians), or they bore carved bird heads (like those of the Dakota and Assiniboin. (Densmore, 1923, p. 9).

Among the Cheyenne the white-tailed deer, rather than the elk, was looked upon as the source of love medicine. Cheyenne men made use of both deer tail ornaments and wooden flutes in their courting. (Grinnell, 1923, Vol. I. pp. 134-135, 137).

The use of anthropomorphic fetishes as love medicines appears to have been more common among the Algonkian than among the Siouan tribes of the Upper Missouri. The Plains Cree were

reputed to have been most skilled in the preparation of these love medicines. Lowie regarded the modeling of "an image both of himself and of the young woman" and the wrapping of "the figures up together with some medicine" by an Assiniboin young man, to be a "method of procedure probably borrowed from the Cree." (Lowie, 1909, pp. 46-47). The Blackfoot purchased their love medicines from the Cree. Some of them were small wooden images, or a figure of a man and a woman drawn on birch bark. Others were herbal medicines. (Mc Clintock, 1910, pp. 190-191; Wissler, 1912, pp. 85-89).

Even though other Upper Missouri tribes looked to the Cree for these love medicine effigies, Mandelbaum was inclined to attribute Cree love medicines to Saulteaux influence. (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 255). Looking eastward we note the similarity of the Cree love medicine effigy to those of certain Central Algonkian tribes. Densmore (1929, pp. 108 and Fig. 39) described and figured small, carved wooden figures used as love medicines by the Chippewa of Minnesota. While Skinner (1915, pp. 189-190) found that the Menomini used wooden images as love medicines. In the single case of a Crow Indian who used carved wooden figures for love medicines, cited by Wildschut above, we may have an example of the marginal occurrence of an essentially Woodland trait.

Botanical love medicines were widely employed by the tribes of the Woodlands and the Plains. Despite the Indians' general tendency to keep secret the ingredients of these medicines and methods employed in preparing them by the specialists who concocted and sold them, we know some of the roots, seeds and flowers employed as love medicines among some of the Missouri Valley tribes. The Ponca knew the bloodroot as "woman-seeking-medicine. Omaha men chewed the root of artemesia and rubbed it on their clothing to attract women. A Pawnee man carried the seeds of *Cogswellia daucifolia* "so he might win any woman he might desire." (Gilmore, 1919, pp. 83, 104, 107). The Pawnee also compounded a love medicine from a combination of ingredients which included dried ginseng roots, wild columbine and *Cogswellia daucifolia* seeds, and both the dried roots and flowers of the red lobelia. (*Ibid.*, p. 106).

Witchcraft Bundles: The Crow method of working evil magic against an individual by making an image of the person to be harmed had parallels among other Siouan and among Algonkian tribes of the Upper Missouri. In 1833, Maximilian wrote of the

Mandan "...they believe that a person to whom they wish ill must die, if they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart, a needle, an awl, or a porcupine quill, and burying the image at the foot of one of their medicine poles." (Maximilian, 1843, p. 382). A century later Bowers was told of a Mandan woman who obtained power from a wolf to cause death to anyone she wished to get rid of by cutting an image of that person out of hide, placing a stone (given to her by the wolf) beside the image, and covering both with hot ashes. (Bowers, 1950, p. 175).

Among the tribes of the Upper Missouri the Plains Cree were most feared for their reputed powers of witchcraft. The Cree sorcerer resorted to sympathetic magic to cause an object or evil medicine to enter the body of his intended victim. "The shaman might mould a figure of a man in clay or cut out hide in the shape of a person. The intrusive object was inserted into that part of the body which is to be affected, or, in case of the hide figure, medicine was placed over that part." (Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 255). Yet Mandelbaum found that the Plains Cree feared the sorcery of the Woodland tribes even more than that of their own evil shamen.

The use of magic power, without the aid of images, to bring death or disaster to an individual has been reported for the Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Arapaho. (Grinnell, 1923, Vol. II. pp. 144-145; Cooper, 1956, pp. 327-329; Hilger, 1952, pp. 130-134). It is my feeling that the practice of witchcraft among the tribes of the Northern Plains may have been much more prevalent in the early years of the historic period than is indicated in the publications of twentieth century field workers. It is tempting to regard the witchcraft practices among the Crow, Mandan and the several Algonkian tribes of the Plains as a survival of Woodland influence upon the religious beliefs and practices of these tribes.

Healing Medicine Bundles: Men and women who claimed to have obtained supernatural powers from particular animals in dreams or visions were engaged in the practice of doctoring the sick or wounded among all of the tribes of the Upper Missouri. The doctor who employed snake power in his procedures appears to have held a respected position among the Mandan as well as among the Crows. During his winter's stay among the Mandan, Maximilian learned that, "Serpents, especially the rattlesnake, are in greater or less degree 'medicine' to these people, who kill them,

and cut off the rattles, which they regard as an effectual remedy in many diseases. They chew one of the joints, and wet various parts of the body of the patient with the saliva." (Maximilian, 1843, p. 380). Hilger (1952, p. 128) was told of an Arapaho man who obtained from a Gila monster power to heal sick people through the use of "turtles, snakes, water-dogs and lizards," whom the Arapaho thought of as a group of related animals.

Curtis (1909, Vol. IV., p. 145 ff.) cited the case of an Hidatsa Indian who had buffalo power to cure wounds. The association of buffalo power with wound doctoring also occurred among the Omaha, who possessed a fraternity of buffalo visionaries who treated such cases. (Fletcher and LaFlesche, 1911, p. 487).

However, the Crow Indians do not appear to have possessed the formalized Bear Cult found among other Siouan and Algonkian tribes of the region. Members of that cult employed bear power they had obtained in dreams, both in curing sickness and as a potent war medicine. (Ewers, 1955).

Hunting Medicine Bundles: In 1833 Maximilian learned of an Hidatsa medicine, composed of the neck bones of a buffalo, which was reputed to have the power of preventing the buffalo herds from removing to too great a distance from the village in which these bones were preserved. "At times they perform the following ceremony with these bones; they take a potsherd with live coals, throw sweet-smelling grass upon it, and fumigate the bones with the smoke." Maximilian understood that the Crows had a similar medicine. (Maximilian, 1843, pp. 399-400).

Both the Hidatsa and the Mandan had elaborate buffalo calling ceremonies which have been described repeatedly since the time of Lewis and Clark's winter encampment near these tribes in 1804-1805. (Lewis and Clark, 1905, Vol. I., p. 245). Maximilian described both the Mandan and Hidatsa buffalo-calling ceremonies as he observed them or heard about them in 1833-1834. (Maximilian, 1843, pp. 378, 418-422). The Red Stick Ceremony and White Buffalo Cow ritual of the Mandan, both winter ceremonies for calling the buffalo, have been described in detail by Bowers (1950, pp. 315-328).

There were also women's society ceremonies for calling the buffalo among the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre and Arapaho. (Maximilian, 1843, pp. 254-255; Cooper, 1956, pp. 242-251; Kroeber, 1902, pp. 210-224).

Buffalo calling among the Blackfoot was also considered one

of the remarkable powers of the beaver medicine men. Buffalo hoofs and tails played prominent rolls in their ceremonies. (Wissler, 1912, pp. 204-209). Among the Plains Cree buffalo pounds were "built under the supervision of a shaman who had been given the power to do so by a spirit helper". This shaman also invoked his spirit helpers to bring success to the impounding operation and managed the operation of the pound. (Mandelbaum, 1940, pp. 189-191).

Probably because buffalo hunting was an important group activity among the tribes of the Upper Missouri buffalo calling tended to become the function of an organized ceremonial group or of a shaman who was recognized as specially gifted in controlling the actions of the buffalo. The widespread use of individually owned buffalo hunting medicines was of lesser significance among the tribes of this region.

ADOPTION OF "WHITE MEN'S MAGIC" AS CROW MEDICINES

Probably because they had fewer contacts with white men than did other tribes of the Upper Missouri, the Crow Indians of the historic period appeared to be more impressed by the white men's "magic" and more readily adopted strange materials from the white man's culture as supernatural helpers.

When among the Crows in 1805, François Larocque observed that "one of them had the tail of a Spanish cow in his Medicine Bag, and when he intended to dress fine or went to war he put it on his head." Even more curious was the fact that one of their chiefs, at that early date, had part of a magic lantern as his medicine. "The figures that are painted on the glass he thinks are spirits & that they assist him. He never leaves them behind when he goes to war." (Larocque, 1910, pp. 66, 68). Could it have been that even before 1805 some ingenious trader, who knew the susceptibility of these Indians to the charms of inexplicable objects, had supplied the Crow chief with this oddity?

When Capt. Bonneville's trading party was en route westward in 1832, some Crow warriors were intrigued by the sight of a domestic calf which was with the traders' wagon train. After a lengthy consultation these Indians decided among themselves that this calf must have been the "great medicine" of the white party. However, when the whites offered to exchange the calf for one of the Crow warrior's horses "their estimate of the great

medicine sank in an instant, and they declined the bargain." (Irving, 1868, pp. 61-62).

Eight years later Father De Smet met the Crow Indians in council. He had some lucifer matches and used them to light the pipe. The Crows had never seen matches before. So impressed were they by them that they regarded the priest as "the greatest medicine man that had ever visited their tribe." In response to the Indians' request, De Smet left some of his matches with them. When he returned to the Crows in the summer of 1842 he found that one of their chiefs had a special attachment for him, claiming that he owed his success in war to Father De Smet. The perplexed priest was soon given an explanation. "Without delay he took from his neck his *Wahkon*, or medicine bag, wrapped in a bit of kid. He unrolled it, and displayed to my wondering view the remnant of the matches I had given him in 1840. 'I use them,' said he, 'every time I go to battle. If the mysterious fire appears at the first rubbing, I dart upon my enemies, sure of obtaining victory.'" (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905, Vol. 3, p. 1036).

Frank Bird Linderman was told of an old rusty gun which was found on the plains by some Crow boys. Later, while playing at war with it, the gun discharged and killed one of the boys. Men of the tribe thereafter regarded it as a sacred medicine. They kept it, carried it to war with them, and invariably whipped the enemy when a battle ensued. (Linderman, 1932, p. 82).

Thomas Leforge, who served as official interpreter at Crow Agency in the 1870s, recalled still another instance of Crow Indian trust in the white man's magic. At that time a number of Indians were afraid to travel a trail along the Stillwater because there were two scaffold burials close to it. Funloving Leforge wrote a pass for one of the Indians which he said would command the ghosts not to harm him when he traveled that route. Another government employee adopted Leforge's pass idea, charging each Indian a buffalo robe for providing this type of written guarantee for freedom from harm. However, the grafting employee was found out and dismissed. (Marquis, 1928, p. 116).

These several stories illustrate the remarkable readiness of the Crow Indians to adopt strange materials from alien cultures and to look upon them as medicines and to integrate them into their pre-existing medicine bundle pattern. It is noteworthy that in the majority of cases cited these to them mysterious objects from the white man's culture—the tail of a Spanish cow, the decorated

glass of a magic lantern, Father De Smet's matches, and the deadly, rusty gun—were adopted by the Crows as war medicines.

In the light of the demonstrated Crow tendency to accept curious and inexplicable objects, regardless of origin, as powerful medicines, it is not surprising that they should have regarded a Haida slate carving in Little Nest's bundle as a rock medicine of the greatest sacredness. Whether this carving reached the Crow country in the baggage of a white trader who knew the weakness of these Indians for rocks resembling animals and humans, whether it was carried over the Rockies in the pack of some friendly Nez Percé who had obtained it from coastal Indians in trade, or whether it found its way to the Yellowstone Valley in some other way, we shall never know. But that the Crow Indians should have accepted this alien piece of carving as a rock medicine and should have interpreted the strange figures carved upon it as creatures well known to them, seems little more remarkable than their adoption of the white men's "magic" on their own terms.

CONCLUSIONS

The medicine bundles of the Crow Indians, as described by William Wildschut and illustrated by the specimens he collected for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, provide a key to the better understanding of some of the basic religious beliefs and practices of the most conservative tribe of the Upper Missouri. A century and a quarter ago Prince Maximilian learned that the Crows "are said to have more superstitious notions than the Mandans, Manitaris [Hidatsa], and Arikkaras." (Maximilian, 1843, p. 175). Two decades later Edwin T. Denig wrote of the Crows: "They are the most superstitious of all the tribes, and can be made to believe almost any story however improbable if the same is of a superhuman nature. Thus they ascribe powers to the Whites, and to their own conjurers, far beyond those admitted by any other nation. Residing as they have and still do in the isolated regions of the Rocky Mountains, they have not had the opportunity to improve themselves in any branch of knowledge, even in the most simple things, that those who reside on the Missouri have. They seldom see any white persons in their own country except the fur traders, who are with them part of the winter and who only attract their attention to matters relating to the trade." (Denig, 1953, p. 39).

Their isolation from the main stream of white penetration of the Upper Missouri, and the fact that permanent mission stations were not established upon the Crow Reservation until the middle 1880's, encouraged the retention of conservative religious beliefs and practices among the Crows until the present century. By the 1920's, when William Wildschut was engaged in field work among them, the older full-bloods still retained their steadfast beliefs in the traditional tribal religion and their faith in the supernatural origins and powers of medicine bundles.

Nevertheless, our comparative data show conclusively that none of the major types of medicine bundles employed by the Crow Indians was peculiar to that tribe. The people of neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri were beset by the same insecurity and motivated by the same desire to gain control over the uncertainties of life through faith in the powers of supernatural helpers as were the Crows. If the Crow Indians had faith that their medicine bundles would protect them from their enemies and bring them success in war, would help them to win the affections of beloved members of the opposite sex, to wreak vengeance upon a personal enemy, to cure the sick and heal the wounded, and to gain success in hunting, wealth in horses, and to delay death until old age was attained, so did the other Indians of the Upper Missouri.

Some of the types of medicine bundles found among the Crow Indians were so widely used by other tribes in the early historic period that it is impossible to determine their tribal origin. Doubtless the origins of war medicines, rock medicines, doctoring and hunting medicines lie deep in the prehistoric past. Of the several classes of Crow medicine bundles described by Wildschut, only the medicine pipe is known to have been introduced among them since the opening of the historic period in the 19th century. Yet the Crows continued to conduct a constant search for more effective medicines throughout that century, fasting in lonely places and deliberately seeking the aid of the "Without Fires," or adopting strange articles from the white man's culture which appeared to them to be imbued with supernatural powers.

Many Crow medicine bundles resembled those of other Upper Missouri tribes so closely that it would be impossible to identify their tribe of origin simply by examination of the contents of these bundles. As might be expected Crow medicine bundles appear to have been most closely related to those of other Siouan tribes,

particularly their Hidatsa kismen, and the Mandan and Teton Dakota. Nevertheless, the nomadic Crows of the historic period lacked the complex medicine shrines of the sedentary Hidatsa and Mandan. They also possessed no such elaborate bundles as the beaver bundles of their nomadic neighbors to the north, the Blackfoot tribes. And both the Crow sun dance bundles, and medicine pipe bundles were relatively simple ones compared with the large and complex *Natoas* and medicine pipe bundles of the Blackfoot. (Wissler, 1912, pp. 209-220; 136-167).

Crow medicine bundles tended to be relatively small and compact, each containing a limited number of sacred objects and usually but one major one, and usually serving a single, well-defined purpose. This relative simplicity of Crow medicine bundles cannot be ascribed to their economic poverty. The Crows were the wealthiest Indians on the Upper Missouri. With their large herds of horses they could have transported with ease much more bulky bundles in their nomadic wanderings had they cared to do so. The Crows must have been conservative in the elaboration of their medicine bundles through preference rather than necessity. And apparently this same moderation governed their medicine bundle rituals. Curtis (1909, Vol. IV., p. 178) observed that Crow religious ceremonies "were more lacking in ritual than were similar ones among other plains tribes." Their medicine bundle rituals, in so far as they are known, contrast sharply with the involved and prolonged medicine bundle rituals of the Blackfoot and the rich ceremonial rituals of the horticultural tribes on the Missouri.

However, the Crows, perhaps more than neighboring tribes, indulged in artistic representation to depict their supernatural helpers in paintings, carvings, rawhide cutouts and dolls. The religious art of the Crow Indians, as revealed in their medicine bundles, appears to be more extensive and more varied than that of other Upper Missouri tribes.

Another marked Crow tendency was that of preserving important medicine bundles after their owners' deaths, rather than burying them with their owners. This is proven by the apparent survival into the present century of the personal medicines of such outstanding chiefs of the early 19th century as Rotten Belly and Long Hair.

Perhaps the most prominent characteristic of the medicine bundle complex among the Crow Indians was the predominance

of war medicines. The very great majority of Crow medicine bundles appear to have functioned to bring protection from enemies or to obtain revenge against them. Among them we must include both the sun dance bundle and the pipe-holder's pipe, as well as the shield, hoop medicine, arrow medicine, and the great variety of other personal war medicine bundles. Both skull medicines and rock medicines also served as war medicines as well as being useful for other purposes. Among the Crows only the medicine pipe bundles (of known foreign origin), love, healing, and hunting bundles appear to have been free of war medicine functions.

This predominance of war medicine bundles among the Crow Indians appears to me to have been directly influenced by this tribes' really desperate military position in the days of intertribal warfare. The Crows were a relatively small tribe, yet they occupied one of the finest hunting territories in the west, and they were richer in horses than any of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They were almost constantly harrassed by the more numerous and aggressive Blackfoot tribes from the north and the Teton Dakota from the east. Not occasionally, but repeatedly for a period of many generations they were forced to fight desperately for their lives against great odds.

White men who were familiar with the desperate plight of the Crows in the period 1830-1860 predicted the extermination of this courageous people by their more powerful enemies. In 1832, Catlin predicted that the Crows would be "entirely destroyed" by the Blackfoot "in a few years." (Catlin, 1841, Vol. I. pp. 42-43). Two decades later the knowledgeable fur trader, Edwin T. Denig, feared that the Crows "warred against by the Blackfeet on the one side and most bands of the Sioux on the other... "cannot long exist as a tribe." (Denig, 1953, p. 71). So dangerous was the Crow country, due to its frequent invasion by enemy war parties, in the middle 1850s, that even the traders abandoned their posts among the Crows. Again, in 1859, Gen. W. F. Raynolds, who explored the Yellowstone Valley, declared that the Crows were "great warriors", but added: "Their numerical inferiority will, however, undoubtedly result in their ultimate extermination in the interminable war waged among the hostile tribes in this region." (Raynolds, 1868, p. 51).

Nevertheless, the Crow tribe did survive. Undoubtedly, their alliance with the whites during the period of the Sioux Wars in

the 1860's and 1870's, and the pacification of the hostile Sioux and Blackfoot by the United States Army helped to prevent the extermination of the Crow Indians. But it would have been impossible to convince Crow warriors, who lived through the harrowing days of intertribal warfare on the Upper Missouri, that their tribe's survival was not due to the potency of their many and varied war medicine bundles.

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TWO LEGGINGS, CHIEF OF THE RIVER CROWS BEFORE HIS DEATH, IN 1923,
THIS CHIEF WAS ONE OF WILLIAM WILDSCHUT'S PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS
AFTER AN OIL PORTRAIT BY J. H. SHARP.

COURTESY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

SUN DANCE EFFIGY FROM TWO LEGGINGS' SUN DANCE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 14/5470. HEIGHT, 6 IN.

ARTICLES IN TWO LEGGINGS' SUN DANCE BUNDLE. CAT. NO. 14/5470.

- 3. DEERSKIN KILT, SKUNK SKIN NECKLACE,
PAINTED RAWHIDE CASE.
LENGTH OF CASE, $14\frac{3}{4}$ IN.
- 4. BUFFALO HIDE RATTLE, FEATHERED HAIR ORNAMENT,
WHISTLE OF EAGLE BONE.
LENGTH OF WHISTLE, $7\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

ARTICLES IN SEES-THE-TENT-GROUND'S SUN DANCE BUNDLE. CAT. NO. 11/6627
 FOUR BONE WHISTLES, TWO SWEETGRASS BRAIDS, TWO SKUNK SKIN NECKLACES, FRAGMENTS OF COMMERCIAL
 TOBACCO, FRAGMENT OF TRADE CLOTH, SMALL PACKET OF MEDICINE

6. SUN DANCE EFFIGY FROM THE SUN DANCE BUNDLE OF SHOWS-HIS-FACE. CAT. NO. 12/6426. HEIGHT OF LARGER, $9\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

7. SUN DANCE EFFIGY FROM THE SUN DANCE BUNDLE OF KILLS-WITH-HIS-BROTHER. CAT. NO. 12/3102
HEIGHT, $10\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

8. SUN DANCE EFFIGY FROM A SECOND
SUN DANCE BUNDLE OWNED BY KILLS-
WITH-HIS-BROTHER.
CAT. NO. 13/2312. HEIGHT, 11 IN.

9. A QUESTIONABLE SUN DANCE DOLL
CAT. NO. 10/9764. HEIGHT. $7\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

10. CARVED WOODEN EFFIGY
FROM THREE-FORE-TOP.
CAT. NO. 11/6466. HEIGHT, $13\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

WOODEN WAR MEDICINE FROM A CROW SUN DANCE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 12/3101. HEIGHT, 11 IN.

HOOP MEDICINE BUNDLE OF BULL SHOWS. CAT. NO. 12/3100.
12. WRAPPED BUNDLE IN RAWHIDE CASE
DIAM. OF DISC, 12 IN.

13. HOOP MEDICINE
DIAM. OF HOOP, $9\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

14. HOOP MEDICINE FROM WHITE SHIRT'S
HOOP MEDICINE BUNDLE. CAT. NO. 14/3609
DIAM. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

15. ARROWS FROM ARROW MEDICINE
BUNDLES (L-R). CAT. NO. 5, 15/3277
(LENGTH, 36 IN.); 12/6428; 14/6482.

16. TUBULAR PIPE ACCOMPANYING EFFIGY SHOWN IN FIGURE 10
CAT. NO. 11/6466. LENGTH OF BOWL, 2 IN.

17. RAW HIDE CASE FOR TWO LEGGINGS' WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE BEARING
PAINTING OF A HORSE
CAT. NO. 14/6481. LENGTH, 18 IN.

FIGURE 18

WILDSCHUT; CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

CONTENTS OF TWO LEGGINGS' WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 14/6481

PAINTED RAWHIDE CASE FOR FAT'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 11/8293. LENGTH, 20 IN.

FIGURE 20

WILDSCHUT; CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

CONTENTS OF FAT'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 11/8293.

FIGURE 21

WILDSCHUT: CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

SHINNY STICK MEDICINE FROM BIG SHOULDER'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 12/6421. LENGTH, $17\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

23. WATER MONSTER EFFIGY FROM
IRON FORK'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 15/3378. LENGTH OF EFFIGY, 7 IN.

22. RAWHIDE FIGURE ATTACHED TO HOOP
FROM LONG OTTER'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 11/5068. DIAM. OF HOOP, 7 IN.

BIG FOREHEAD'S WAR MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 12/6429
24. FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF MEDICINE BONNET
GREATEST LENGTH, 58 IN.

25. WOLF BONE WHISTLE
LENGTH, 5 1/2 IN.

WAR MEDICINE SHIRT OF BUFFALO BULL
CAT. NO. 11/6486, HEIGHT, 14 1/2 IN.

27. OUTER SIDE

28. INNER SIDE

WAR MEDICINE MOCCASIN FROM SEES-THE-LIVING-BULL'S MOCCASIN BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 14/6472. LENGTH, $10\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

29. HUMP'S MEDICINE SHIELD
CAT. NO. 11/7678. DIAM. 22 IN.

30. RED WOODPECKER'S MEDICINE SHIELD
CAT. NO. 11/7679. DIAM. 20 IN.

31. YELLOW BROW'S MEDICINE SHIELD
CAT. NO. II/7681. DIAM. $21\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

32. RAWHIDE BASE OF ROTTEN BELLY'S SHIELD
CAT. NO. II/7680. DIAM. 24 IN.

REAR

FRONT

MINIATURE STONE SHIELDS OF PRETTY-ON-TOP
L. CAT. NO. 15/3267. DIAM. 4 IN.
R. CAT. NO. 15/3370. DIAM. $2\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

FIGURE 35

WILDSCHUT: CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

A CROW TREE BURIAL
FROM AN OLD FIELD PHOTOGRAPH MAIHF NEG. NO. 29,630.

SKULL AND ACCESSORIES FROM THE SKULL MEDICINE BUNDLE OF BRAIDED TAIL
CAT. NO. II/6452.

37. THE JAW MEDICINE SHOWING BUFFALO
HAIR WRAPPING AND STRUNG BEAD PENDANTS

38. PAINTED RAWHIDE CONTAINER. WIDTH 12 IN.
THE ROTTEN BELLY JAW MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 12/731.

FIGURE 39

WILDSCHUT; CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

THE ROTTEN BELLY JAW MEDICINE BUNDLE. X-RAY OF JAW, SIDE VIEW

SNELLS' ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

CAT. NO. II/6454

40. ROCK MEDICINE WITH ORNAMENTS.

41. CLOSE-UP, SHOWING FACE
LENGTH OF ROCK, $2\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

42. OBVERSE OF ROCK MEDICINE
SHOWING CRUDE PAINTING OF A HAND
LENGTH OF ROCK, 3 IN.

BIG SKY'S ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. II/5870
43. REVERSE OF ROCK MEDICINE
SHOWING BEADED STRING DECORATION

WILDSCHUT: CROW MEDICINE BUNDLES

PRETTY COYOTE'S ROCK MEDICINE BUNDLE

CAT. NO. 10/9771

44. ROCK, SHOWING ELABORATE DECORATION.

LENGTH OF PEBBLE, $2\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

45. TOP: BACULITE. LENGTH, $\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

BOTTOM: AMMONITE. GREATEST DIAM. 3 IN.

PIPESTEM FROM ROTTEN BELLY'S MEDICINE PIPE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 11/6455. LENGTH, $29\frac{3}{4}$ IN.

47. TUBULAR BOWL OF REDSTONE. LENGTH, $6\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

48. BOWL AND STEM. LENGTH, 19 IN.

STANDING BULL'S MEDICINE PIPE. CAT. NO. II/7698

49. TUBULAR STONE BOWL. LENGTH, $3\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

50. BOWL AND STEM. LENGTH, 39 IN.

PRETTY COYOTE'S MEDICINE PIPE. CAT. NO. II/6456

TRAVEL'S LOVE MEDICINE ROBE OF ELKSKIN
CAT. NO. II/6625. CENTER WIDTH, 92 IN.

FOG'S LOVE MEDICINE ROBE OF ELKSKIN. CAT. NO. 12/7781
TOP: WHOLE ROBE. CENTER WIDTH, 66 IN.
BOTTOM: ENLARGED VIEW OF PAINTED ELK FIGURE

54. LOVE MEDICINE FLUTES
TOP: CAT. NO. 15/3268. LENGTH, 40 IN.
BOTTOM: CAT. NO. 12/6399. LENGTH, 15 IN.

55. PAINTED RAWHIDE ELK EFFIGY FROM LONG TAIL'S LOVE MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 15/3260. LENGTH, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

56. ELK HEADDRESS FROM LONG TAIL'S LOVE MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 15/3258.

57. OLD CROW'S LOVE CHARMING BELT.
CAT. NO. 11/6611. LENGTH, 52 IN.

58. SNAKE EFFIGIES USED IN DOCTORING. LENGTH OF BOTTOM EFFIGY, 31 IN.

59. BUFFALO HIDE CASE BEARING OUTLINES OF SNAKES. WIDTH, $10\frac{1}{2}$ IN.
SLIPPERY EYES' SNAKE MEDICINE BUNDLE CAT. NO. 15/3373.

60. BUFFALO TAILS USED IN WOUND-DOCTORING
TOP: CAT. NO. 11/5084. LENGTH, 11 IN.
BOTTOM: CAT. NO. 11/5071. LENGTH, 36 IN.

61. DEFORMED BUFFALO HORNS FROM LONG'S BUFFALO MEDICINE BUNDLE
CAT. NO. 15/3279. LENGTH OF CENTER HORN, $5\frac{1}{2}$ IN.

62. PAINTED RAWHIDE CASE. WIDTH $6\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

63. BUFFALO CHIP AND PEBBLE. LENGTH OF PEBBLE. $1\frac{1}{8}$ IN.
BIG OX'S DOCTORING MEDICINE BUNDLE. CAT. NO. 12/698.

64. MEDICINE FOR TREATING BARREN WOMEN
CAT. NO. 12/3114
HEIGHT OF CRADLE, $8\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

65. FISHDUCK MEDICINE FOR TREATING WOMEN'S DISEASES
CAT. NO. 11/6485
LENGTH OF WOODEN IMPLEMENT, $16\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

66. STOMACH KNEADERS
(L-R) CAT. NO. 15/4721. LENGTH, 17 IN.; 15/2399

67. COLD WIND'S BUFFALO HUNTING MEDICINE
CAT. NO. 11/4872.
LENGTH OF HORN, $6\frac{1}{4}$ IN.

LITTLE NEST'S ROCK MEDICINE
FROM A FIELD PHOTOGRAPH BY WILLIAM WILDSCHUT
(See p. 95; foot note 42)

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